YAKŞAS

ANANDA K.
COOMARASWAMY

YAKṢAS

PART I
with 23 plates
PART II
with 50 plates

MUNSHIRAM
MANOHARLAL
New Delhi

YAKṢAS

Part I

I. INTRODUCTION

In centuries preceding the Christian era, when the fusion of races in India had already far advanced, the religion of India passed through its greatest crises and underwent the most profound changes. Vedic ritual, indeed, has survived in part up to the present day; but the religious outlook of medieval and modern India is so profoundly different from that of the Vedic period, as known to us from the extant literature, that we cannot apply to both a common designation; medieval and modern Hinduism is one thing, Vedic Brahmanism another. The change is twofold, at once inward and spiritual, and outward and formal.

No doubt we are sufficiently aware of the spiritual revolution indicated in the Upaniṣads and Buddhism, whereby the emphasis was shifted from the outer world to the inner life, salvation became the highest goal, and knowledge the means of attainment. But while this philosophic development and spiritual coming of age have gradually perfumed (to use a characteristically Indian phrase) the whole of Indian civilization, there are here a background and ultimate significance given to the social order, rather than the means of its actual integration; the philosophy of the Upaniṣads, the psychology of Buddhism, indeed, were originally means only for those who had left behind them the life of a householder, and thus in their immediate application anti-social. But few in any generation are ripe for the attainment of spiritual emancipation, and were it otherwise the social order could not survive. The immediate purpose of Indian civilization is not Nirvāṇa or Mokṣa, but Dharma; not a desertion of the household life, but the fulfillment of function. And here, in Karma-yoga, the spiritual support is found, not in pure knowledge, but in devotion to higher powers, personally conceived, and directly approached by appropriate offices (*pūjā*) and means (*sādhanā*). In the words of the *Bhagavad Gītā:* "He who on earth doth not follow the wheel (of activity) thus revolving, liveth in vain. . . . . He that doeth that which should be done, he is the true Monk, the true Yogī.

not the recluse who refrains from actions. . . . . Whatsoever thou doest, do thou that as an offering to Me; thus shalt thou be liberated. . . . . He who offereth to Me with devotion a leaf, a flower, a fruit, or water, that I accept. . . . . Howsoever men approach Me, even so do I welcome them, for the path men take from every side is Mine."

In the earlier Vedic books there is a total absence of many of these most fundamental features of Hinduism properly so called; it is only in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads (and afterwards, much more definitely in the Epics) that the ideas of *Saṁsāra* (the cycle of birth and rebirth), *Karma* (causality), religious asceticism and Yoga, and *Bhakti* (devotion to a personal deity) begin to appear, and the same applies to the cults of Śiva, Krishna, Yakṣas, Nāgas, innumerable goddesses, and localized deities generally. It is natural and reasonable to assume that these ideas and deities derive, not from the Vedic Aryan tradition, but, as De la Vallée-Poussin expresses it, from " un certain fond commun, très riche, et que nous ne connaissons pas parfaitement." [1]

There is much to be said for Fergusson's view (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 244) that " Tree and Serpent worship," *i. e.*, the worship of Yakṣas and Nāgas, powers of fertility and rainfall, " was the primitive faith of the aboriginal casteless Dasyus who inhabited northern India before the advent of the Aryans." But in using language of this kind, a certain degree of caution is necessary: for, in the nature of things, it is only the popular and devotional aspect of these " primitive faiths " of which we are able to recover the traces, and there may well have existed esoteric and more philosophical phases of the same beliefs. We do not know how much of Indian philosophy should really be traced to Āgamic rather than Vedic origins. Indians themselves have always believed in the existence of theistic scriptures, the Āgamas, coeval in antiquity with the Vedas; and if the existence of

[1] For these groups of ideas as foreign to the Vedas, and for their indigenous source, see De la Vallée-Poussin, *Indo-Européens et Indo-Iraniens; L'Inde jusque vers 300 av. J. C.*, Paris, 1924, pp. 303, 315-6, 320, etc.; Senart, E., *Castes*, pp. xvi-xvii; Jacobi, H., *The Gaina Sutras*, S. B. E., XXII, p. xxi; Keith, A. B., *Religion and philosophy of the Veda*, Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 31, 32, pp. 132, 193, 258; Macdonell, A., *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 153, 154; Vogel, J. Ph., *Indian Serpent lore*, 1926; Charpentier, J., *Über den Begriff und die Etymologie von pūjā*, Festgabe Hermann Jacobi, 1926.

It is to be noticed that all the clans particularly associated (so far as the materials here relied upon are concerned) with Yakṣa worship, are by no means completely Brahmanised, and probably are not of Aryan origin (De la Vallée-Poussin, *L'Inde* . . . ., p. 182).

such scriptures is beyond proof, it is at least certain that religious traditions, which must be spoken of as Āgamic in contradistinction to Vedic, are abundant and must reach far back into the past. This past, moreover, has been proved by recent archeological discoveries to have been much more ancient and to have been characterized by a much higher culture than had been formerly recognized. And we know so well the continuity of Indian racial psychology during the historical period, that we cannot but believe that long before this period begins the Indians had been, as they are today, essentially worshippers of personal deities.

In the beginning, when Aryans and non-Aryans were at war, in the period of military conquest and greatest social exclusiveness, and before the two elements had learned to live together, or had evolved a conception of life covering and justifying all its phases, a divergence between the two types of religious consciousness had been profound; in those days the despised worshippers of the *śiśna* (phallus) might not approach the Aryan sacrifice. As time passed the dividing lines grew fainter, and in the end there was evolved a faith so tolerant and so broad that it could embrace in a common theological scheme all grades of religious practise, from that of the pure monist to that of savages living in the forests and practising human sacrifice.

Now, regarding the accomplished fact, it is not always easy to distinguish the separate elements that made so great a creative achievement possible. We are apt both to over- and underestimate the significance of what we describe as primitive animism.

Hinduism, quantitatively regarded, is a worship of one deity under various aspects, and of genii and saints and demons, whose aid may be invoked either for spiritual or for altogether material ends. This Hinduism, in the period we have referred to, broadly speaking, that of the last three centuries before Christ, was not so much coming into existence for the first time, as coming into consciousness and prominence.

Dr. Vogel, in *Indian Serpent Lore*, has very recently and very admirably studied the old Indian (or perhaps we ought rather to say, the Indian aspect of the widespread Asiatic) cult of Nāgas or Dragons, guardian spirits of the Waters.

In the following pages I have attempted to bring together, from literary and monumental sources, material sufficient to present a fairly clear picture of an even more important phase of non- and pre-Aryan Indian "animism," the worship of Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, and to indicate its significance in religious history and iconographic evolution.

2. YAKṢAS AND YAKṢATTVA ("GENI-HOOD")

The status of a Yakṣa as typically represented (1) in the later sectarian literature and (2) in modern folklore will yield an imperfect, and indeed an altogether erroneous idea of the original significance of Yakṣattva if not examined with cautious reservations. As remarked by Mrs. Rhys Davids:[1]

> The myth of the yakkha, and its evolution still, I believe, await investigation. The English equivalent does not exist. "Geni" (djinn) is perhaps nearest (cf. *Pss. of the Sisters*, p. 30). In the early records, yakkha as an appellation is, like nāga, anything but depreciative. Not only is Sakka so called (M. 1, 252), but the Buddha himself is so referred to in poetic diction (M. 1, 383).[2]
>
> We have seen Kakudha, son of the gods, so addressed (*Kindred Sayings*, II, 8); and in D. II, 170 the city of the gods, Alakamandā, is described as crowded with Yakkhas ("gods"). They have a deva's supernormal powers. . . . . But they were decadent creatures, degraded in the later era, when the stories of the Jātaka verses were set down, to the status of red-eyed cannibal ogres.

And it may be added that it was only natural that in losing their importance as tutelary deities, the Yakṣas in popular folklore, influenced no doubt by the prejudices already referred to as apparent in the sectarian literature, should likewise have come to be classed with the demoniac Rākṣasas.[3] Their fate in this connection may be compared with that of the Devas at the hands of Zoroaster, or that of the older European mythology under the influence of Christianity (*e. g.*, in Saxo Grammaticus). Notwithstanding this, it is quite possible to gather both from the sectarian and the semi-secular literature a great deal of information incidentally presenting unmistakable evidences of the Yakṣas' once honorable status, their benevolence toward men,

[1] *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, I, 1917, p. 262. In the above citation, M. is *Majjhima Nikāya* and D. is *Dialogues of the Buddha*. An excellent article on Yakkhas in Buddhist literature will be found under *Yakkha* in the P. T. S. Pali Dictionary.

[2] Elsewhere the Buddha finds it necessary to say that he is not a Deva, Gandhabba, or Yakkha (*Anguttara Nikāya*, II, 37).

[3] For gigantic or cannibal Yakṣas see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Tawney, I, pp. 127, 337, II, p. 594. For the cult of Yakṣas (Siṁhalese, *Yakā*) surviving as "devil-worship" in Ceylon see Callaway, *Yakkun Nattanawā*, London, 1829; Upham, E., *History and doctrine of Buddhism*, 1829; Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, London, 1909, Ch. IV and Yakā, Yakkhas in Index (p. 153, a dead man speaking in a dream says, "I am now a Yakā"). For an excellent general account of non-Aryan deities, local and tutelary, beneficent and malevolent, see Whitehead, H., *The village gods of South India*, Oxford, 1916 ("in many villages the shrine is simply a rough stone platform under a tree"), also Mitra, S. C., *Village deities of Northern Bengal*, Hindustan Review, February, 1922, and Enthoven, R. E., *The folklore of Bombay*, Pt. III, *Tree and snake worship*.

and the affection felt by men toward them. As remarked by Lévi (*loc. cit. infra*), "le Yakṣa est essentiellement un personage divin étroitement associé par la tradition aux souvenirs locaux . . . . ils rappellent de bien près nos saints patronaux."

The word Yakṣa[1] is first found in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (III, 203, 272), where, however, it means nothing more than "a wondrous thing." In the sense of a "spirit" or genius, usually associated with Kubera (the chief of Yakṣas) it does not appear before the period of the *Gṛhya Sūtras* where Yakṣas are invoked together with a numerous and very miscellaneous host of other major and minor deities, all classed as Bhūtas,[2] "Beings," in the Gṛhya ritual at the close of Vedic studies;[3] in a somewhat later book they are possessing spirits of disease.[4] The *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* mentions Māṇibhadra.

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Kubera is a Rākṣasa and lord of robbers and evil-doers: this may only mean that he was an aboriginal deity, alien to Brahman orthodoxy. In the Sūtras he is invoked with Īśāna for the husband in the marriage ritual, and his hosts plague children (cf. Hārītī in her original character).

The following Yakṣas and Devatās are represented and named at Bharhut: Supavasu Yakho, Virudhako Yakho, Gaṅgita Yakho, Suciloma Yakho, Kupiro Yakho (Kuvera), Ajakālako Yakho; Sudasana Yakhi, Cadā (Candā) Yakhi; Sirimā Devatā, Culakoka Devatā, Mahakoka Devatā.

Yakṣas by name or as a class are much more familiar figures in the Epics. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, 3, 11, 94, we find *yakṣattva amaratvaṁ ca*, "spirithood and immortality" together, as boons bestowed by a god or gods. Men of the Sāttvik ("pure") class worship the gods (Devas), those of the Rājasik ("passionate") class, Yakṣas and

[1] The word Yakṣa occurs in the following forms, which are here retained in citations:

Sanskrit, *Yakṣa*, (*f.*) *Yakṣī*, *Yakṣiṇī*: Pali, *Yakkha*, *Yakkhī*, *Yakkhiṇī*: Prakrit, *Jakkha*, *Jakkhiṇī*; Siṁhalese, *Yakā*, *Yakī*.

The word is perhaps of indigenous non-Aryan origin. The later *Rāmāyaṇa* proposes an explanation which looks like mere folk etymology: Brahmā created beings to guard the waters, and of these some cried "rakṣāmah," "let us guard," and others "yakṣāmah," "let us gobble," becoming thus Rākṣasas and Yakṣas. The idea is perhaps derived from the big belly which is the most constant feature in Yakṣa iconography.

[2] Śiva is "Bhūteśvara," and Yakṣas are often called Bhūtas; the word Bhūta may mean "those who have become (Yakṣas)," cf. *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. X, verse *yakkha-bhūta*, "those that had become Yakṣas."

[3] *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, IV, 9; *Āśvalāyana G. S.*, III, 4; *Pāraskara G. S.*, II, 12. (Keith, *Religion and philosophy of the Veda*, p. 213.)

[4] *Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra*, II, 14: Keith, *ib.* p. 242.

Rākṣasas, those of the Tāmasik ("dark") class, Pretas and Bhūtas (*Mahābhārata*, 6, 41, 4); in other words, the Yakṣas are ranked below the Devas, but above the goblins and ghosts and here distinguished from Bhūtas. But very often they are not clearly distinguished from Devas and Devatās. The Yakṣas are sometimes sylvan deities, usually but not always gentle, like the Vanadevatās (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 57; *Āṭānāṭīya Suttanta*).

Kubera or Kuvera (Vaiśravaṇa, Vaiśramaṇa, also in Buddhist literature Vessavaṇa, Pāñcika, Jambhala, etc.),[1] is one of the Four Great Kings (Mahārājas), or Eight Great Devas, a Lokapāla, Regent of the North (sometimes, with Indra, of the East), and the chief of all Yakṣas, whence his epithets Yakṣendra, Deva Yakṣarāja, etc. He is a god of power and productivity: worshipped especially for treasure (as Dhanada, Vasuda, giving wealth).[2] His city Āḷaka situated on Mt. Kailāsa (also the abode of Śiva) is a magnificent walled town, where dwell not only Yakṣas, but also Kiṁnaras, Munis, Gandharvas and Rākṣasas. Very possibly, as M. Goloubew (Ars Asiatica, X) has suggested, the whole of the ceiling of Cave I at Ajaṇṭā may be regarded as a representation of the Paradise of Kuvera. When Kubera repairs to a convention of the gods, he is accompanied by a great host of Yakṣas, collectively designated *Vaiśravaṇa-kāyika-devas*.

Kubera has many beautiful palaces, groves, gardens, etc., on Mt. Kailāsa. These need not be referred to in detail, but it may be remarked of the grove Caitraratha that its trees have jewels for their leaves and girls as their fruits.[3]

The cult of the Lokapālas or Four Great Kings (N. Vaiśravaṇa, E. Dhṛtarāṣṭra, S. Virūḍhaka, W. Virūpākṣa) was extensively developed in Khotān, where they are represented as standing on demon *vāhanams*.[4] Vaiśravaṇa is here very frequently represented with

[1] For Jambhala see Foucher, *L'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, I, p. 123, and II, p. 51; his śakti is Vasundhārā, the Earth-goddess. He may be surrounded by eight Yakṣiṇīs, Bhadrā, Subhadrā, etc. (ibid., II, 85).

[2] He might be styled Mammon: but not in a bad sense of the word, for from the Indian point of view wealth, prosperity and beauty are rewards of innate virtue, of which, according to the doctrine of *Karma*, Mammon could only be the dispenser. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, 12, 74, 3 f.

[3] Both motifs are of interest on account of their occurrence in decorative art, the Bharhut coping reliefs showing many forms of jewel-bearing creepers (*kalpa-latā*), and medieval art, especially in Ceylon (*nārī-latā* designs, plate 22, fig. 3) many examples of creepers with girls as their flower or fruit. The latter motif, too, may have some connection with the later Arab legends of the Wāqwāq tree.

[4] Stein, *Ancient Khotān*, figs. 30, 31, and pl. II; *Serindia*, p. 870.

shoulder flames. In this connection it should be safe to identify the flaming Kankālī Ṭīlā figure (pl. 16, fig. 2) with Vaiśravaṇa; the corpulent body in any case is that of a Yakṣa, and the flames represent the fiery energy inherent in a king.

Of Kubera's Yakṣa followers we learn a good deal: they possess the power of assuming any shape, the females particularly that of a very beautiful woman (so that an unknown beauty is asked if she be the goddess of the district, or a Yakṣī);[1] they are kindly, but can fight fiercely as guardians (Kubera himself is a "world-protector," and it is chiefly as attendants, guardians and gate-keepers that the Yakṣas appear in Buddhist art, equally in India and in the Far East); they are sometimes specifically grouped with Nāgas, more often with gods, Gandharvas and Nāgas; they are known as "good folk" (*Puṇyajana*) and appear to be countless in number, though few are individually named. Māṇibhadra (Maṇivara, Maṇicara, Maṇimat) in the *Mahābhārata* (5, 192, 44 f.) is a Yakṣarāja, and Kubera's chief attendant. He is invoked with Kubera as a patron of merchants; this may be the explanation of the statue at Pawāyā, set up by a guild (*goṣṭha*) (pl. 1, fig. 2).[2]

Gaṇeśa is undoubtedly a Yakṣa type, by his big belly and general character: but he is not cited by name in any lists. He is effectively and perhaps actually equivalent to Kubera or Māṇibhadra.[3] But the earliest representation of an elephant-headed Yakṣa seems to be that of the Amarāvatī coping, Burgess, *Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta,* plate XXX, 1 (here pl. 23, fig. 1); and this is not a Yakṣarāja, but more like a *guhya* or *gaṇa*. Gaṇeśa is son of Śiva, who is himself called Gaṇeśa (Lord of hosts) in the *Mahābhārata*. Gaṇeśa as elephant-headed deity does not appear in the Epic except in the introduction which is a late addition. The figure of Gaṇeśa begins to appear quite commonly in Gupta art, about 400 A. D., *e. g.*, at Bhumara, plate 18, figure 1; at Deogaṛh (pilaster left of the Anantaśayin panel).

There is some confusion of Yakṣas and Rākṣasas, who according to one tradition have a common origin; both have good and evil qualities, benevolent and malevolent as the case may be; very often the same descriptions would apply to either, but the two classes are not identical, and broadly speaking we find the Yakṣas associated with

---

[1] *Mahābhārata,* Vana Parva, Ch. CCLXIII (Draupadī).

[2] There exists a "story of the Mahāyakṣa Māṇibhadra" in MS.; see Hoernle in Congr. Int. Orientalistes, 12, Rome, 1899, Vol. I, p. 165.

[3] Cf. Scherman, *Dickbauchtypen in der indischen Götterwelt,* Jahrb. as. Kunst, I, 1724. Also M. F. A. Bulletin, No. 154.

Kubera, the Rākṣasas with Rāvaṇa, who is their chief. Yakṣas as a rule are kindly, Rākṣasas bloodthirsty.[1]

Yakṣas are not only the attendants, but also the bearers of their Lord Vaiśravaṇa. They play, indeed, the part of bearers or supporters in all kinds of situations where their attitude is one of friendly service; thus, they are constantly represented as supporting the four legs of Kaṇṭhaka, on the occasion of the Abhiniṣkramaṇa (Great Renunciation, or Going Forth of the Buddha).[2] They bear, too, the pavilion in which the Bodhisattva descends to take incarnation in the womb of Māyā Devī (pl. 21, fig. 1). In connection with Vaiśravaṇa, and other deities, the Guhyas appear in crouching dwarfish forms as supporters; in fact, as "vehicles" (*vāhanam*) as in plate 3, figure 1, etc. Some of these types have been preserved with remarkable fidelity in Far Eastern art, in the case, for example, of the Jikoku-Ten of the Kondō, Nara, Japan,[3] so closely resembling the Kubera from Bharhut (pl. 3, fig. 1), and the Śiva figure of the Guḍimallam liṅgam (pl. 17, fig. 1). In the case of Śiva, the Yakṣa vehicle in later images (Naṭarāja, etc.) has come to be regarded as a demoniac symbol of spiritual darkness (*apasmāra puruṣa*, or *mala*).

Kuvera is also "Naravāhana," but the Naras here in question are not men, but mythological beings variously described, sometimes as bird horses, which may possibly explain the occasional representation of winged Atlantes (pl. 13, figs. 2 and 3, also Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique* . . . ., fig. 314). The interpretation Naravāhana = borne by men, is later.

As Atlantes, supporters of buildings and superstructures (pl. 13, figs. 1, 2, 3), and as garland-bearers (pl. 23, figs. 1, 2) Yakṣas are constantly represented in early Indian art (Bharhut, Sāñcī, Gandhāra, etc.). Those who support Kuvera's flying palace are designated Guhyas (*Mahābhārata*, 2, 10, 3); Kuvera is Guhyapati. The Guhyas are essentially earth-gnomes (cf. pl. 13, fig. 1). The Yakṣiṇī of *Kathāsaritsāgara*, ch. XXXVII, who carries a man through the air, is called a Guhyakī.

Some Yakṣagrahas (demon possessors, causing disease) are attendants of Skanda, who is sometimes called Guha, a name which

[1] For a detailed summary of the Epic accounts of Kubera and the Yakṣas, see Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 142 ff., also pp. 30, 38, 57, 67 ff., 145, 148, etc. See also Waddell, *Evolution of the Buddhist cult*, J. R. A. S. Any connection with the Greek Kabeiros is very improbable (Keith).

[2] E. g., Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddique du Gandhāra*, 1, pp. 357, 554 ff., and figs. 182-4, ch.; Stein, *Serindia*, p. 858.

[3] For the Nara figure see *Nara Horyūji Okagami*, Vol. 38, pl. 7, or Warner, *Japanese sculpture of the Suiko period*, fig. 35.

may be related to the Guhyas, attendants of Kuvera (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 145, 229).

Yakṣas (like Nāgas) are sometimes regarded as constructive or artistic genii: thus Hsüan Tsang, Bk. VIII, speaks of the Aśokan remains at Pāṭaliputra as having been built by genii (Yakṣas).[1]

Kubera himself can be regarded as the first smelter of gold.[2]

Comparatively few individual Yakṣiṇīs are mentioned by name; the *Mahābhārata* (3, 83, 23) speaks of a Yakṣiṇī shrine at Rājagṛha as "world-renowned." But it is beyond doubt that Yakṣiṇīs were extensively worshipped, in part as beneficent, in part as malevolent beings. In the latter aspect they do not differ essentially from their modern descendants, such as the Bengali Sītalā, goddess of smallpox, or Olābībī, goddess of cholera. The Seven Mothers (who are in part connected with Kubera), the Sixty-four Joginīs, the Ḍākinīs, and some forms of Devī, in medieval and modern cults, must have been Yakṣiṇīs. In Southern India, indeed, to the present day, nearly all the village deities are feminine. Mīnākṣī, to whom as wife of Śiva, the great temple at Madura is dedicated, was originally a daughter of Kubera, therefore a Yakṣiṇī. Durgā was originally a goddess worshipped by savage tribes.

The case of Hāritī is too well known to need a long discussion. To sum up her story, she was originally a Magadhan tutelary goddess, wife of Pāñcika and residing at Rājagṛha; she was not ill-disposed, for her name Nandā means Joy. She was called even in Hsüan Tsang's time the Mother of Yakṣas, and the people prayed to her for offspring. But Buddhist legend has it that she had begun to destroy the children of Rājagṛha by smallpox, and so earned the name of Hāritī, "Thief," by which she is known to Buddhism; metaphorically, she was said to "devour" them, and is represented as an ogress, and it was as an ogress that the Buddha encountered her. The Buddha adopts the expedient of hiding her last-born child (Piṅgala, who had been a human being in a previous life, the Yakṣa birth being here a penalty); she realizes the pain she has been causing others, and becomes a convert; but as she can no longer seek her accustomed food, the Buddha promises that she shall receive regular offerings from pious Buddhists, as a patroness of children and fertility. This reads more like an explanation or justification of a cult than a true account

[1] Beal, *Buddhist Records*, II, p. 93. *Cf.* also Laufer, *Citralakṣaṇa*, pp. 189, 190, where a late Tibetan author ascribes Aśoka's works at Bodhgayā to Yakṣas and Nāgas, and speaks of certain Indian medieval sculpture and paintings as like the art-work of the Yakṣas.

[2] Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 146.

of its origin; probably this was the best way to provide an edifying sanction for an ancient animistic cult too strong to be subverted. Hārītī is also constantly represented together with Pāñcika, forming a Tutelary Pair (Gandhāra, Mathurā, Java, etc., pl. 15, fig. 1; pl. 21, figs. 3-5).[1]

A Yakkhiṇī by name, or rather, epithet, Assa-mukhi ("horse-faced") plays an important part in the *Padakusalamāṇava* Jātaka. There may be specific reference to this *Jātaka* whenever a horse-headed Yakkhiṇī is represented on the medallions of Buddhist railings[2] (pl. 12, fig. 1). But the Kiṁnaras and Kiṁpuruṣas, and Gandharvas too, typically half-human, half-equine, are a class of beings frequenting forests and mountains (cf. the *vaḷava-mukha* Cetiyā, of Paṇḍukābhaya, *infra*, p. 16) and as such are sometimes naturally represented as a part of the scenery, and in such cases there need be no reference to the *Jātaka*.[3]

In the *Maṇicūḍāvadāna* a Yakṣiṇī undertakes to bring about a marriage, and to this end has the marriage "represented" (*mūrtivaivāhikaṁ karma*, presumably in a painting).[4]

In the Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, Appendix) Puṇṇabhadda and Māṇibhadda are called powerful Devas, and they appear together to those who practise certain austerities. Another work gives the following list of "Devas" who are obedient to Vaiśramana: Puṇṇabhadda, Māṇibhadda, Salibhadda, Sumaṇabhadda,

---

[1] For Hārītī see Foucher, *The Buddhist Madonna*, and *Tutelary Pair*, in *The beginnings of Buddhist art; L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*; Vogel, *The Mathura school of sculpture*, A. S. I., A. R., 1909-10, p. 77; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, 216; Beal, *Records* . . . ., I, 110; Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 99; Chavannes, in T'oung Pao, 1904, p. 496 f.

[2] Mitra, R., *Buddha-Gayā*, pl. XXXIV, 2; Foucher, in Mem. conc. l'Asie orientale, III, 1919, pl. I; Waddell, *Report on excavations at Pāṭaliputra*, pl. 1. Perhaps also Ajaṇṭā, Cave XVII (Griffiths, pl. 142, b).

[3] At Bhājā, HIIA, fig. 27, lower r. corner; Mandor, HIIA, fig. 166. Kiṁnaras in Indian literature and art are of two types (I) horse-headed, as above, and (2) half bird, half human (siren type). Both kinds are musical, and may be classed in this respect with Gandharvas. The masculine horse-headed type is rare: examples in *Cat. Ind. Collections, Boston, V. Rajput Painting*, No. CLIX (called Gandharvas, one Nārada), and in Arts et Archéologie khmèrs, II, fig. 56, *bis*. Most likely the horse-headed type is not a Kiṁnara at all.

[4] In the *Svayambhu Purāṇa*, De la Vallée Poussin, J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 315. Here we have the normal connection of Yakṣiṇīs with human marriage. The *mūrti-vaivāhika* motif appears also in Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*, and is represented in a Rajput Painting of the eighteenth century (*Cat. Ind. Coll.*, V, *Rajput paintings*, p. 189).

Cakṣurakṣa, Purṇarakṣa, Savvana, Savvajasa, Savakāma, Samiddha,[1] Amohe, Asaṁta. It may be remarked incidentally that nearly all these names of Yakṣas are auspicious, implying fullness, increase, prosperity, etc.

As we have seen, Yakkhas are often called Devas in the Jaina books, where, as Śāsana Devatās, they are usually guardian angels. But it is not at all clear whether the "false and lying Devas" who persecute the followers of Mahāvīra in the *Uvāsagadasāo*, §§ 93 f., 224, etc., are to be regarded as Yakkhas or not. That they should be so regarded in one case at least (§ 164) is suggested by the fact that the Deva here appears in an *asoga* (aśoka)-grove and takes possession of objects laid on an altar. It may also be remarked that the Deva of § 93 is an expert shape-shifter, which is a characteristic power for Yakkhas; the text speaks of the "Pisāya (Piśāca) form of the Deva," and it may be that the Yakkhas, like the more orthodox Brāhmaṇical deities had their *śānta* and *ugra* forms. But even if these false and lying Devas are Yakkhas, it need not be forgotten that their objectionable qualities are emphasized in the interests of Jaina edification.

The Āṭānāṭīya Suttanta (*Dīgha Nikāya*, III 195 f.),[2] however, speaks of good and bad Yakkhas, the latter being rebels to the Four Great Kings (Kubera, etc.). If any of these assail a Buddhist monk or layman, he is to appeal to the higher Yakkhas; Vessavaṇa himself supplies to the Buddha the proper invocation, and gives a list of the Yakkha chiefs; the list includes Ind(r)a, Soma, Varuṇa, Pajāpati,[3] Maṇi (-bhadda), Āḷavaka, etc. It will be observed that the first four mentioned are orthodox Brāhmaṇical deities; but this is not the only place in which Indra (Sakka) is spoken of as a Yakkha. Vessavaṇa (Kubera) goes on to say that there are Yakkhas of all ranks who do, and others who do not believe in the Buddha, "But for the most part, Lord, Yakkhas do not believe in the Exalted One."[4]

Another list of Yakṣas is to be found in the *Mahāmāyūrī*,[5] a work which goes back to the third or fourth century A. D. In this list we

[1] In *Mahāvaṁsa*, 1, 45, the Deva Samiddhisumaṇa inhabits a *rājāyatana*-tree in the Jetavana garden at Sāvatthī: he had been a man in Nāgadīpa.

[2] S. B. B., vol. 4 (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, 3). This text contains much valuable information on Yakkhas.

[3] With Pajāpati, cf. Prajāpatī, name of a Jogiṇī, Patainī Devī temple (A. S. I., A. R., Western Circle, 1920, p. 109).

[4] A similar distinction of good and bad Yakṣas is made in *Mahāvaṁsa*, XXXI, 81, "Moreover, to ward off the evil Yakkhas the twenty-eight Yakkha chieftains stood keeping guard." The twenty-eight Yakṣarājas are again referred to in *Lalita Vistara*, Ch. XVI.

[5] Lévi, S., *Le catalogue géographique de Yakṣa dans le Mahāmāyūrī*, J. A., 1915.

of its origin; probably this was the best way to provide an edifying sanction for an ancient animistic cult too strong to be subverted. Hāritī is also constantly represented together with Pāñcika, forming a Tutelary Pair (Gandhāra, Mathurā, Java, etc., pl. 15, fig. 1; pl. 21, figs. 3-5).[1]

A Yakkhiṇī by name, or rather, epithet, Assa-mukhi ("horse-faced") plays an important part in the *Padakusalamāṇava* Jātaka. There may be specific reference to this *Jātaka* whenever a horse-headed Yakkhiṇī is represented on the medallions of Buddhist railings[2] (pl. 12, fig. 1). But the Kiṁnaras and Kiṁpuruṣas, and Gandharvas too, typically half-human, half-equine, are a class of beings frequenting forests and mountains (cf. the *vaḷava-mukha* Cetiyā, of Paṇḍukābhaya, *infra*, p. 16) and as such are sometimes naturally represented as a part of the scenery, and in such cases there need be no reference to the *Jātaka*.[3]

In the *Maṇicūḍāvadāna* a Yakṣiṇī undertakes to bring about a marriage, and to this end has the marriage "represented" (*mūrtivaivāhikaṁ karma*, presumably in a painting).[4]

In the Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, Appendix) Puṇṇabhadda and Māṇibhadda are called powerful Devas, and they appear together to those who practise certain austerities. Another work gives the following list of "Devas" who are obedient to Vaiśramana: Puṇṇabhadda, Māṇibhadda, Salibhadda, Sumaṇabhadda,

---

[1] For Hāritī see Foucher, *The Buddhist Madonna*, and *Tutelary Pair*, in *The beginnings of Buddhist art*; *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*; Vogel, *The Mathura school of sculpture*, A. S. I., A. R., 1909-10, p. 77; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, 216; Beal, *Records* . . . ., I, 110; Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 99; Chavannes, in T'oung Pao, 1904, p. 496 f.

[2] Mitra, R., *Buddha-Gayā*, pl. XXXIV, 2; Foucher, in Mem. conc. l'Asie orientale, III, 1919, pl. I; Waddell, *Report on excavations at Pāṭaliputra*, pl. I. Perhaps also Ajaṇṭā, Cave XVII (Griffiths, pl. 142, b).

[3] At Bhājā, HIIA, fig. 27, lower r. corner; Mandor, HIIA, fig. 166. Kiṁnaras in Indian literature and art are of two types (1) horse-headed, as above, and (2) half bird, half human (siren type). Both kinds are musical, and may be classed in this respect with Gandharvas. The masculine horse-headed type is rare: examples in *Cat. Ind. Collections, Boston, V. Rajput Painting*, No. CLIX (called Gandharvas, one Nārada), and in Arts et Archéologie khmèrs, II, fig. 56, *bis*. Most likely the horse-headed type is not a Kiṁnara at all.

[4] In the *Svayambhu Purāṇa*, De la Vallée Poussin, J. R. A. S., 1894, p. 315. Here we have the normal connection of Yakṣiṇīs with human marriage. The *mūrti-vaivāhika* motif appears also in Bhāṣa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*, and is represented in a Rajput Painting of the eighteenth century (*Cat. Ind. Coll.*, V, *Rajput paintings*, p. 189).

Cakṣurakṣa, Purṇarakṣa, Savvana, Savvajasa, Savakāma, Samiddha,[1] Amohe, Asaṁta. It may be remarked incidentally that nearly all these names of Yakṣas are auspicious, implying fullness, increase, prosperity, etc.

As we have seen, Yakkhas are often called Devas in the Jaina books, where, as Śāsana Devatās, they are usually guardian angels. But it is not at all clear whether the "false and lying Devas" who persecute the followers of Mahāvīra in the *Uvāsagadasāo*, §§ 93 f., 224, etc., are to be regarded as Yakkhas or not. That they should be so regarded in one case at least (§ 164) is suggested by the fact that the Deva here appears in an *asoga* (aśoka)-grove and takes possession of objects laid on an altar. It may also be remarked that the Deva of § 93 is an expert shape-shifter, which is a characteristic power for Yakkhas; the text speaks of the "Pisāya (Piśāca) form of the Deva," and it may be that the Yakkhas, like the more orthodox Brāhmaṇical deities had their *śānta* and *ugra* forms. But even if these false and lying Devas are Yakkhas, it need not be forgotten that their objectionable qualities are emphasized in the interests of Jaina edification.

The Āṭānāṭiya Suttanta (*Digha Nikāya*, III 195 f.),[2] however, speaks of good and bad Yakkhas, the latter being rebels to the Four Great Kings (Kubera, etc.). If any of these assail a Buddhist monk or layman, he is to appeal to the higher Yakkhas; Vessavaṇa himself supplies to the Buddha the proper invocation, and gives a list of the Yakkha chiefs; the list includes Ind(r)a, Soma, Varuṇa, Pajāpati,[3] Maṇi (-bhadda), Āḷavaka, etc. It will be observed that the first four mentioned are orthodox Brāhmaṇical deities; but this is not the only place in which Indra (Sakka) is spoken of as a Yakkha. Vessavaṇa (Kubera) goes on to say that there are Yakkhas of all ranks who do, and others who do not believe in the Buddha, "But for the most part, Lord, Yakkhas do not believe in the Exalted One."[4]

Another list of Yakṣas is to be found in the *Mahāmāyūrī*,[5] a work which goes back to the third or fourth century A. D. In this list we

[1] In *Mahāvaṁsa*, I, 45, the Deva Samiddhisumaṇa inhabits a *rājāyatana*-tree in the Jetavana garden in Sāvatthī: he had been a man in Nāgadīpa.

[2] S. B. B., vol. 4 (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, 3). This text contains much valuable information on Yakkhas.

[3] With Pajāpati, cf. Prajāpatī, name of a Jogini, Pataini Devī temple (A. S. I., A. R., Western Circle, 1920, p. 109).

[4] A similar distinction of good and bad Yakṣas is made in *Mahāvaṁsa*, XXXI, 81, "Moreover, to ward off the evil Yakkhas the twenty-eight Yakkha chieftains stood keeping guard." The twenty-eight Yakṣarājas are again referred to in *Lalita Vistara*, Ch. XVI.

[5] Lévi, S., *Le catalogue géographique de Yakṣa dans le Mahāmāyūrī*, J. A., 1915.

find *Nandi ca Vardhanaścaiva nagare Nandivardhane*, " Nandi and Vardhana, these twain, have their seat in the city of Nandivardhana"; a Chinese commentator on the *Avataṁsaka Sūtra* has stated that this city was in Magadha, as indeed the Sūtra itself implies. All this is of interest because two Yakṣa statues (pl. 2, figs. 1 and 2) have been found near Patna, and they bear inscriptions of which one reads *yakha ta vaṭa naṁdi*. The conclusion arrived at by Gangoly, that the pair represent the tutelary Yakṣas of Nandivardhana may be correct.[1] But the *Mahāmāyūrī* list has also a Nandi Yakṣa of Nandinagara, separately mentioned. There are several Nandinagaras known; one is frequently mentioned in the Sāñcī inscriptions. It seems to me that the Patna figure designated as the Yakṣa Nandi in the inscription may just as well be Nandi of Nandinagara as Nandi of Nandivardhana; this would leave the second statue unidentified, as it is not named in the inscription. In the same list Māṇibhadra and Purṇabhadra are called brothers. Others mentioned include Viṣṇu, Kārttikeya, Śaṅkara, Vibhīṣaṇa, Krakucchanda, Suprabuddha, Duryodhana, Arjuna, Naigameśa (tutelary Yakṣa of Pañcālī), Makaradhvaja (=Kāmadeva, the Buddhist Māra), and Vajrapāṇi. The last is said to be the Yakṣa of Vulture's Peak, Rājagṛha, where is his *kṛtālaya* (" made abode," evidently a temple); in the *Yakkha Suttas* Sakka (? Indra), who is called a Yakkha of Māra's faction, may not be the same as the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi. Naigamesa is the well-known antelope-headed genius, Indra's commander-in-chief, who both in Brāhmanical and Jaina mythology is connected with the procreation of children.[2]

[1] Gangoly, O. C., in Modern Review, Oct. 1919. Also Chanda, R., *Four Ancient Yakṣa statues*, Univ. of Calcutta, Anthropological Papers, 3 (Journ. Dep. Letters, IV, Calcutta, 1921), and references there cited.

[2] It will be seen that the list includes the names of orthodox Hindu deities, Epic heroes, and others. Suprabuddha in Buddhist legend is the father-in-law (rarely the grandfather) of the Buddha, and is one of the five persons who suffered condign punishment for crimes committed against the Buddha or the Order, one of the others being the Yakṣa Nandaka. Krakucchanda is a former Buddha.

Śaṅkara is one of the well-known names of Śiva, whose close connection with Yakṣas is shown in many ways, *inter alia*, by the existence of numerous temples dedicated to him under names which are those of Yakṣas, *e. g.*, the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadkadal. Śiva's followers called Pāriṣadas are huge-bellied like Yakṣas. Cf. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 221-222.

For Naigameśa(ya) (Nejameṣa, Naigameya, Hariṇegameṣī) see Winternitz in J. R. A. S., 1895, pp. 149 ff.; Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 242. Naigameṣa in the Epic is generally a goat-faced form of Agni. As Hariṇegameṣī he plays an important part in the conception and birth legend of

In Buddhist works the Yakkhas are sometimes represented as teachers of good morals, and as guardian spirits. Thus in *Thera-therī-gāthā*, XLIV, Sānu Sutta,[1] Sānu had been the son of a Yakkhinī in a former birth; now this Yakkhinī "controlling" (as Spiritualists would say) Sānu, warns and advises his present human mother as follows:

> Your son has a tendency to roam, wherefore bid him rouse himself. Tell him what the Yakkhas say:
>
> "Do nought of evil, open or concealed,
> If evil thou doest or wilt do,
> Thou shalt not escape from evil e'en though thou flee."

But more often, as in the *Āṭānāṭīyā Suttanta,* the Yakkhas are said to be unbelievers, to whom the ethics of the Buddhas are distasteful; they "haunt the lonely and remote recesses of the forest, where noise, where sound, hardly is, where breezes from the pastures blow, hidden from men, suitable for meditation. There do eminent Yakkhas dwell, who have no faith in the word of the Exalted One."[2]

In the Vijaya legend the aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon are called Yakkhas.[3] One of Vijaya's men follows a bitch, who is the Yakkhinī Kuvaṇṇā in disguise; she bewitches him, and all those who follow him, but cannot devour them, as they are protected by charmed threads. Vijaya follows, overcomes the Yakkhinī, and obtains the release of the men; Kuvaṇṇā takes the form of a beautiful girl, and Vijaya marries her (almost the Circe motif !). She enables him to destroy the invisible Yakkhas who inhabit the land, and he becomes

---

Mahāvīra (in the *Kalpa Sūtra,* see Jacobi, S. B. E., XXII). In the *Antagaḍa Dasāo* we find him worshipped (Barnett, *Antagaḍa Dasāo*, p. 67, cited below, p. 25). He is represented in an early relief from Mathurā (Smith, *Jaina stupa of Mathura*, pl. XVII) with an inscription in which he is designated Bhagavā Nemeso; also in some other early but mutilated reliefs in the Mathurā Museum., and regularly in the illustrations to the Jaina manuscripts of the *Kalpa Sūtra* (Coomaraswamy, *Cat. Indian Collections*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, pt. IV).

Māra, and his hosts of deformed demons, is brilliantly represented at Sāñcī, north *toraṇa*, middle architrave, back (pl. 23, fig. 3). In a medieval relief at Sārnāth he is provided with a *makaradhvaja* (Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. India, 1904-05, p. 84): as Kāmadeva, with Rati, at Elūrā, in the Kailāsa shrine, he also has a *makaradhvaja.*

[1] Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Brethren,* p. 48. *Cf. ibid.*, p. 245, the older and later attitude side by side, the Yakkha, though a cannibal, being invoked as the guardian of a child.

[2] *Dīgha Nikāya*, III, 195 (Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part 3, in S. B. B., IV).

[3] *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. VII.

king. Later, he repudiates her and marries a human princess. She returns to the Yakkhas, but is killed as a traitress. Her two children became the ancestors of the Pulindā (perhaps the Veddas, who are still worshippers of Yakkhas; perhaps as ancestors?). In this story the Yakkhas, though credited with supernatural powers, seem to be regarded as aborigines themselves.

Not only may a human being be reborn as a Yakṣa, but vice versa.[1] A very interesting case of such a rebirth appears in the Indrakīla inscription, near Bezwāḍā, of the ninth century. This inscription occurs on a stele, sculptured with reliefs illustrating the Kiratārjuna episode of the *Mahābhārata;* the stele was set up by one Trikoṭṭi-Boyu, who regarded himself as an incarnation of the friendly Yakṣa who at Indra's behest guided Arjuna to the inaccessible Indrakīla hill, there to wrestle with Śiva and to receive the *Pāśupata astram*. Extant texts of the Epic do not mention any Yakṣa, but some version of the story must have known him, and Trikoṭṭi-Boyu regarded him as an ancestor.[2]

3. YAKṢAS AS TUTELARY DEITIES (PATRON SAINTS) AND GUARDIAN ANGELS

In many cases Yakṣas have been human beings attached to the service of a community or individual, and, reborn as a spirit or geni, continue to watch over those whom they had formerly served. Thus, from a Tibetan source[3] we get the following story connected with the times of king Bimbisāra, a contemporary of the Buddha:

> At that time one of the gate-keepers of Vaisali had died and had been born again among the demons. He gave the inhabitants of Vaisali the following instructions: "As I have been born again among the demons, confer on me the position of a Yakṣa and hang a bell round my neck. Whenever foe to the inhabi-

[1] The doctrine of reincarnation is not Vedic, and in view of the suggestions of indigenous origin that have been plausibly made, it is of interest to note how constantly the idea of rebirth is connected with the Yakṣa mythology, in which a Yakṣa may have been, or may again become a human being. Hodson, T. C., *The Primitive Culture of India*, p. 7, and Lecture V, *passim*, shows that a belief in reincarnation is widely spread amongst primitive tribes in India (Khonds, Bhuiyas, Garos, etc.). The Lushais (p. 105) desire to escape from the mortal coil of reincarnation. Santals say that "good men enter into fruit-trees" (Sir W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*). According to a Buddhist tradition Kuvera himself was once a very charitable Brahman (S. B. B., IV, p. 193, note 4).

[2] Sastri, H. K., *The sculptured pillar on the Indrakila hill at Beswada*, Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. India, 1915-16.

[3] Schiefner, A., *Tibetan tales from the Kah-gyur* (Ralston, p. 81).

tants of Vaisali appears, I will make the bell sound until he is arrested or has taken his departure."[1] So they caused a Yakṣa statue to be prepared and hung a bell round its neck. Then they set it up in the gatehouse, provided with oblations and garlands along with dance and song and to the sound of musical instruments.

The same Tibetan sources show that the Śākyas honored a Yakṣa by name Śākyavardhana ("He who prospers the Śākyas") as a tutelary deity. This tradition is recorded in the Tibetan Dulva;[2] we need not believe in the miracle, but there is every possibility that there was a tutelary Yakṣa of the Śākya clan, and that the Śākyas presented their children in the temple. Moreover, the Presentation is four times illustrated at Amarāvatī (pl. 20, also Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pls. LXIX, XCI, 4, and Burgess, *Buddhist stupas* . . . ., frontispiece, detail left of center, and pl. XXXII, 2). According to the text,

> It was the habit of the Śākyas to make all new-born children bow down at the feet of a statue of the Yakṣa Śākyavardhana (*Sākya-sphel* or *spel*); so the king took the young child (the Bodhisattva, Siddhārtha) to the temple, but the Yakṣa bowed down at his feet . . . . and when the king saw the Yakṣa bow down at the child's feet he exclaimed, "He is the god of gods," and the child was therefore called Devatideva.

The same tradition is found in the Chinese *Abhiniṣkramaṇa Sūtra* (the late sixth century Chinese version by Jñānakuṭi),[3] but the temple is called a Deva temple, and the Deva's name is Tsang Chang, for which the equivalent Dīrghāvardana is suggested. The story is much more elaborated in the *Lalita Vistara*, Ch. VIII, where the temple is full of statues of gods (Śiva, Sūrya), and all bow down to the child; this is obviously a later development.

In the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, Ch. III, 14-18, it is stated as a general rule that Yakṣas are reborn as men when their stock of merit (acquired, of course, in a previous life on earth) is exhausted.

Not only human beings, but even animals may be reborn as tutelary Yakṣas. The following story of the Jaina saint Jīvaka is related in the Tamil classic, the *Jīvaka-cintāmani:*[4] Jīvaka rescues a drowning dog,

[1] As regards the bell; it should be observed that the voice of Devas and Yakṣas is often said to be like the sound of a golden bell (*e.g.*, *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, Yakkha Suttas, § 8 (Commentary), and Sakka Suttas, II, § 10 (Commentary). For Yakṣas with bells see plate 12, figure 2; plate 13, figure 3; and plate 18. For a very similar story from the *Divyāvadāna* see Appendix.

[2] Rockhill, W. W., *Life of the Buddha from Tibetan works in the Bkah-Hgyur and Bstan-Hgyur*, p. 17; Csoma de Körös, *Analysis of the Kah-Gyur*, Asiatic Researches, XX, p. 289. Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, 13, 14, with some other references, including *Divyāvadāna*.

[3] Beal, S., *Romantic history of Buddha*, p. 52.

[4] Vinson, J., *Légendes bouddhistes et djainas*, Paris, 1900, t. 2, p. 43.

or, to be more exact, recites to it the *mantra* of the Five Namaskāras, whereby it is reborn as a deity, a chief of the Yakṣas; as such it is called Sutañjana and lives in Candrodaya ("Moonrise") on the white Mt. Saṅga. Later, Jīvaka is imprisoned by his enemies; he calls to mind Sutañjana, who immediately experiences a trembling which brings Jīvaka to his mind (cf. the heating or quaking of Indra's throne when good men are in distress), and he hastens to the rescue. He produces a great storm, and under cover of it carries off Jīvaka and takes him to his heavenly palace. Later, he bestows on Jīvaka three great spells (*mantras*) which bestow marvellous beauty, destroy poison, and give the power of shape-shifting, and finally takes him back to earth. There Jīvaka erects and endows a temple and sets up a statue in it.

A detailed story of Yakkhas is given in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, chapters IX, X. It may be summarized as follows:

Prince Gāmaṇi had two attendants, Citta and Kāḷavela, respectively a herdsman and a slave. He fell in love with the Princess Cittā; but it had been prophesied that the latter's son would slay the Prince's uncles, who were then in power. However, the Princess became enceinte, and the marriage was permitted; but it was decided that if a son should be born, he should be put to death, and meanwhile Citta and Kāḷavela were executed for their part in the affair. "They were reborn as Yakkhas, and both kept guard over the child in the mother's womb." The child, a son, was duly born, and was called Paṇḍukābhaya; he was exchanged with the new-born daughter of another woman, and thus brought up in safety away from the court (cf. the story of the infant Kṛṣṇa). When the young prince was once in sudden danger, the two Yakkhas appeared to save him.

Later on, Paṇḍukābhaya captured a Yakkhiṇī mare, described as *vaḷavarūpā* or *vaḷavā-mukha*, "mare-shaped" or "mare-faced" (cf. Assamukhī, discussed below); her name was Cetiyā, and she used to wander about the Dhūmarakkha mountain in the form of a mare, with a white body and red feet. Paṇḍukābhaya bored her nostrils and secured her with a rope; she became his adviser, and he rode her in battle. When at last established on the throne (in Anurādhapura), Paṇḍukābhaya "settled the Yakkha Kālavela on the east side of the city, the Yakkha Cittarāja at the lower end of the Abhaya tank. The slave-woman who had helped him in time past (as foster-mother) and was (now) reborn as (or of) a Yakkhiṇī, the thankful (king) settled at the south gate of the city. Within the royal precincts he housed the Yakkhiṇī having the face of a mare. Year by year he had sacrificial offerings made to them and to other (Yakkhas); but on festival days he sat with Cittarāja beside him on a seat of equal height, and having gods and men to dance before him, the king took his pleasure in joyous and merry wise. . . . . With Cittarāja and Kāḷavela who were visible,[1] the prince enjoyed his good fortune, he that had those that had become Yakkhas for friends."[2]

[1] *I.e.*, were represented by statues.

[2] Alternatively, "had Yakkhas and Bhūtas for friends."

4. SHRINES AND TEMPLES (*CAITYA, AYATANA*)

The haunt or abode (*bhavanam*) of a Yakṣa, often referred to as a *caitya* (Pali, *cetiya*, Prakrit, *cēiya*) or *āyatana* (Prakrit, *āyayaṇa*) may be outside a city, in a grove, on a mountain or at a *ghāṭ* (shrines of Puṇṇabhadda and Moggara-pāṇī; those of the Indra's Peak Yakkha, and the Yakkha Suciloma near Rājagaha mentioned in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, Yakkha Suttas (*Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 264); and the Yakṣa shrine and image of *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, ch. XII, S. B. E., XLV, p. 50, note), or by a tank (the Yakkha Cittarāja, *Mahāvaṁsa*, ch. X); or at the gates of a city (slave woman reborn as a Yakkhinī, *Mahāvaṁsa*, chapter X, and the tutelary Yakṣa of Vaiśālī mentioned above); or within a city (shrine of Māṇibhadra, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, ch. XIII) or even within the palace precincts (shrine of the Yakkhiṇī Cetiyā, *Mahāvaṁsa*, ch. X). These shrines are constantly spoken of as ancient, magnificent, famous, or world-renowned.

The essential element of a Yakṣa holystead is a stone table or altar (*veyaḍḍi, mañco*) placed beneath the tree sacred to the Yakṣa. The *bhavanam* of the Yakkha Suciloma at Gayā is particularly described as a stone couch (better rendered as dais or altar) by or on which the Buddha rested; the words used are *taṅkita mañco*, explained in the commentary to mean a stone slab resting on four other stones (*Saṁyutta Nikāya*, Yakkha Suttas, ch. X, *Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 264). At the Puṇṇabhadda cēiya described below there were not only altars (and probably an image) in an elaborate temple, but also a decorated altar beneath an aśoka-tree in the grove.

It was just such an altar beneath a sacred tree that served as the Bodhisattva's seat on the night of the Great Enlightenment; Sujātā's maidservant, indeed, mistakes the Bodhisattva for the tree-spirit himself (*Nidānakathā*). It is very evident that the sacred tree and altar represent a combination taken over by Buddhism from older cults, and in the case of the Bodhi-tree we see the transference actually in process.

How often the *bhavanas* of the Yakṣas mentioned in Buddhist and Jaina literature should be regarded as constructed temples it is hard to say. Some, like the Puṇṇabhadda cēiya, were certainly buildings, independent of the altar beneath a sacred tree. In references to constructed temples supposed to have existed in the latter centuries preceding the Christian era there is nothing at all improbable; some of the *āyatanas* and *caityas* of the Epics are certainly buildings, and sometimes contain statues. So, too, in Manu, 4, 39. The Caṇḍāla temple of *Mahābhārata*, 12, 121 (post-epical) has images and bells,

and may have been a Yakṣa shrine, or the shrine of a goddess. Structural temple architecture was already far advanced in and before the Kuṣāna period.[1] The existence of images (and Yakṣa images are the oldest known images in India) in every case implies the existence of temples and a cult.

On the other hand it is quite certain that the word *caitya* sometimes means no more than a sacred tree, or a tree with an altar; such are designated *caitya-vṛkṣas* in the Epics, and it is stated in the *Mahābhārata*, Southern Recension, 12, 69, 41 ff., that such holy trees should not be injured inasmuch as they are the resorts of Devas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, etc. Even when as so often happens in Buddhist literature, the Buddha is represented as halting or resting at the *bhavanam* of some Yakkha, it does not follow that a building is meant; the *bhavanam* may have been only a tree sacred to a Yakṣa, and such sacred trees are natural resting and meeting places in any village, as at the present day. But in *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, Yakkha Suttas, IV, it is expressly stated that the *bhavanam* of the Yakkha Maṇibhadda was called the Maṇimāla caitya (the Jaina *Sūrya-prajñapti* says that the Maṇibhadda cēiya lay to the northeast of the city of Mithilā). As the shrines of Maṇibhadda and Puṇṇabhadda seem to have been the most famous of all Yakkha shrines, it is most likely that the former as well as the latter was a real temple, and indeed it is described as a temple with doors and an inner chamber in *Kathāsaritsāgara*, chapter XIII. We know, too, that a statue of Maṇibhadda was set up at Pawāyā,[2] and this must have been housed in some kind of structure. Śākyavardhana's shrine, too, in the Tibetan text and in one of the Amarāvatī reliefs, is a temple: so also the *kṛtālaya* of Vajrapāṇi in the Mahāmāyūrī list.

On the whole, then, we may be sure that in many cases Yakṣa shrines, however designated, were structural buildings. What were they like? The passages cited in the present essay tell us of buildings with doors, and arches (*toraṇe*, which may refer either to gateways like the Buddhist *toraṇas*, or, as the text has, "on its doorways," probably to stone or wooden pediments, with which we are familiar from the Maurya period onwards);[3] and of images and altars within

[1] Cf. HIIA, figs. 41, 43, 45, 62, 69, 70, 142: M. F. A., Bulletin, Nos. 144, 150: Parmentier, *L'Art khmèr primitif*, p. 349, and *Origine commune des architectures dans l'Inde et en Extrême-Orient*, in Études Asiatiques.

[2] See Garde, M. B., in Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep. 1914-15, Pt. I, p. 21 and *The site of Padmāvatī*, ib. 1915-16, p. 105 and Pl. LVII. See also p. 28.

[3] Cf. Smith, V. A., *Jaina stupa of Mathurā*, pls. XIX, XX; Coomaraswamy, in M. F. A. Bulletin, No. 150 (August, 1927).

the buildings. Indian styles of architecture, of course, are not sectarian; the style is that of the period. So that to discuss this question fully would involve a discussion of all structural temple architecture from the Maurya to the Kuṣāna period inclusive; which would not be altogether impossible, on the basis of literary references, and representations in reliefs. This would take up too much of the space at present available. But it may be observed that the Gujarātī commentators gloss the word *jakkhāyayaṇa* by *āyat thānak dehro,* a little domed temple.[1] This description would very aptly characterize the little domed pavilions which are represented on Audumbara coins from Kāngṛā about the beginning of the Christian era, and on somewhat similar coins from Ceylon,[2] while a more elaborate structure of the same type is seen in the Sudhammā Deva-sabhā in the well-known Bharhut relief (early second century B. C.).[3] Another example of a "little domed temple" is the fire temple of the Sāñcī relief, east *toraṇa,* left pillar, inner face, second panel. Cf. also HIIA, figure 145.

One of the detailed descriptions of a Yakṣa holystead may be quoted in full: this is the famous shrine of the Yakṣa Pūrṇabhadra (Puṇṇabhadda) of which a long account is given in the *Aupapātika Sūtra.*[4]

> Near Campā there was a sanctuary (*cēiya*) named Puṇṇabhadde. It was of ancient origin, told of by men of former days, old, renowned, rich, and well known. It had umbrellas, banners, and bells; it had flags, and flags upon flags to adorn it, and was provided with brushes.[5]

---

[1] Barnett, *Antagaḍa Dasāo,* p. 13, n. 5.

[2] Audumbara coins, Smith, V. A., in J. A. S. B., LXVI, pt. I, 1897; Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India,* pl. IV, 2; HIIA, figs. 116, 117. Ceylon coins, Pieris, P. E., *Nāgadīpa. . . . ,* J. R. A. S., Ceylon Br., XXVII, No. 72, 1919.

[3] Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut,* pl. XVI; or HIIA, fig. 43.

[4] Leumann, E., *Das Aupapātika Sūtra, erstes Upanga der Jaina,* Abh. Kunde des Morgenlandes, VIII, 2, 1883. The same account is implied in the *Antagaḍa Dasāo,* the quotation above being taken from Barnett's rendering inserted in his translation of the latter text.

The Jaina canonical works, like the Buddhist, may be regarded as good evidence for the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era.

It may be remarked that Jaina cēiyas are distinguished (from those of Yakkhas) as *arhat cēiya.*

[5] *Loma-haṭṭha:* it seems to me that the rendering "brushes" may be due to the translator's preoccupation with Jaina ideas.

Pali *loma-haṭṭha* means "with hair erect" (horripilation) in fear, astonishment, or joy. May not the suggestion be here simply "marvellous to behold," rather than the designation of an object? or could yak-tail fly-whisks (*courī*), more appropriate in a Yakṣa shrine, have been meant?

It had daises (*veyaḍḍi*)[1] built in it, and was reverentially adorned with a coating of dry cow-dung, and bore figures of the five-fingered hand painted in *gośirṣa* sandal, fresh red sandal, and Dardara Sandal. There was in it great store of ritual pitchers. On (? beside, or above) its doorways were ritual jars (*vandaṇaghaḍe*) and well-fashioned arches (*tōraṇē*). Broad rounded long-drooping masses of bunches of fresh sweet-smelling blossoms of the five colours scattered therein. It smelt pleasantly with the shimmering reek of *kālāguru*, fine *kundurukka*, and *turukka* (incenses),[2] and was odorous with sweet-smelling fine scents, a very incense-wafer. It was haunted by actors, dancers, rope-walkers, wrestlers, boxers, jesters, jumpers, reciters, ballad-singers, story-tellers, pole dancers, picture-showmen (*maṅkhē*),[3] pipers, lute-players, and minstrels. .... This sanctuary was encompassed round about by a great wood. .... In this wood was a broad mid-space. Therein, it is related, was a great and fine Aśoka-tree. It had its roots pure with *kuśa* and *vikuśa* grass. .... Underneath this fine Aśoka-tree, somewhat close to its trunk, was, it is related, a large dais of (? resting upon) earthen blocks (*puḍhavīsilā paṭṭae*). It (the dais)

---

[1] *Veyaḍḍi:* an earthen or stone slab altar for the reception of offerings is the essential part of a shrine. Sometimes a symbol is placed on it. Later, when images come into general use, it becomes the *āsana* (seat or throne) or *pīṭha* (pedestal) of the figure. Altars are generally plain and smooth; but beautifully ornamented examples are known, particularly one, Jaina, from the Kaṅkālī Tīlā, Mathurā (Smith, *Jaina stupa of Mathura*, pl. XXII), and the outer *vajrāsana*, Buddhist, at Bodhgayā (Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pl. XIII), both of pre-Kuṣāna date.

In the *Uvāsagadasāo*, 164 (Hoernle, p. 107) the altar is called a masonry platform (*puḍhavī-silā-paṭṭae* = Sanskṛit *pṛthvī-śilā-paṭṭaka* or *paṭṭaya*, cf. the *silā paṭṭaaṁ* of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, III, 79); Hoernle discusses the terms at some length. *Puḍhavī-silā* might mean laterite. The words *taṅkite-mañco* are used in the Pali *Yakkha Suttas*, and rendered stone couch, but "altar" would be better.

[2] The five fingered hand design is mentioned also elsewhere; *e. g.*, *Mahāvaṁsa*, XXXII, 4 (*pañcāṅgulikā pantikā*). Perhaps a five-foliate palmette would have been thus designated.

[3] Picture-showmen; probably those who exhibited scrolls (*yamapaṭa*) illustrating the rewards of good and bad actions, to be realized in a future life. In the Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, XV, 1, there is mentioned the heresiarch Gosāle Maṅkhaliputte, whose second name refers to his father's trade as a *maṅkha* (cf. Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, pp. 108, 121, notes 253, 273 and Appendix, p. 1). Patañjali, *Mahābhāṣya*, 111, 2, 111, refers to the exhibition of paintings of the Kṛṣṇa Līlā, and to the use of the historical present in verbal explanation of them; see Lüders, Sitz. k. Ak. Wiss., Berlin, 1916, pp. 698 ff.; also Keith, A. B., *The Sanskrit drama* (but Keith's rejection of the spoken explanation is probably mistaken). In Viśākhadatta's *Mudrarākṣasa*, Act. 1, Cāṇakya's spy adopts the disguise of an exhibitor of *yamapaṭa* (Prakrit, *jamapaḍaaṁ*). Cf. the modern Javanese Wayang Bebèr (Groeneveldt, W. P., *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, compiled from Chinese sources*, Batavia, 1876; Krom, N. J., in Ars Asiatica, VIII, pl. LIX, and the similar Siamese exhibitions cited by Kramrisch, *Viṣṇudharmottaram*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 5, from the Siamese *Sāratha Pakāsini*, pt. II, p. 398).

was of goodly proportions as to breadth, length, and height; and it was black . . . . smooth and massive, eight-cornered, like the face of a mirror, very delightful, and variously figured with wolves, bulls, horses, men, dolphins, birds, snakes, elves, *ruru*-deer, *sarabha*-deer, yak-oxen, elephants, forest creepers, and *padmaka* creepers. . . . . It was shaped like a throne, and was comforting . . . . comely.

In those days, at that time, there arrived the reverent elder Subhamme. . . . . amidst a company of five hundred friars he travelled on and on, journeying in pleasantness, he came to the city of Campā and the sanctuary Puṇṇabhadde he took a lodging such as was meet, and abode there. People came out from Campā to hear his preaching.

The *Antagaḍa Dasāo*, chapter 6, in connection with the garland-maker Ajjuṇae provides interesting details regarding the cult and shrine of the Jakkha Moggara-pāṇi. The following abstract includes all that is pertinent to our study:[1]

Outside the city of Rāyagihe (Rājagṛha) Ajjuṇae possessed a beautiful flower-garden. Some way from this garden there was a shrine (*jakkhāyayaṇa*) sacred to the Jakkha Moggara-pāṇi; this shrine "had belonged to Ajjunae's grandfather, great-grandfather, and great-great-grandfather, and had passed through a line of many men of his race" (by whom it had been supported in past generations). "In it there stood a figure of the Jakkha Moggara-pāṇi holding a great iron mace a thousand *palas* in weight." Every morning, before plying his trade, Ajjuṇae would go to the garden with baskets and cloths to gather flowers; then "with the chiefest and best flowers he would approach the *jakkhāyayaṇa* of the Jakkha Moggara-pāṇi, fall upon his knees, and do reverence." On a certain festival day he took with him his wife Bandhumaī.

Meanwhile a certain gang of roughnecks from Rāyagihe had made their way to the shrine to take their pleasure there; seeing Ajjuṇae and his wife, they plan to bind him and take possession of her. To this end they hid themselves behind the doors; when Ajjuṇae had made his offerings, they seized him as arranged, and worked their will on his wife. Ajjuṇae reflected, "Verily I have been from childhood a worshipper of my lord the Jakkha Moggara-pāṇi; now if the Jakkha Moggara-pāṇi were present here, could he behold me falling into such ill-fortune? Then the Jakkha Moggara-pāṇi is not present here: 'tis plain this is but a log." Moggara-pāṇi, however, became aware of Ajjuṇae's thoughts, and took possession of his body; having done so he seized the iron mace, and smote down the six villains and the woman.

Ajjuṇae, still possessed by the Jakkha, now went about killing six men and a woman everyday. The matter was brought to the king's notice. He proclaimed that people should stay at home, and not go out of doors about their usual tasks. A Jaina ascetic then arrived. Despite the king's orders and the danger, the pious merchant Sudaṁsaṇe cannot be dissuaded from going out to pay his respects to the ascetic. The Jakkha meets and threatens him; but Sudaṁsaṇe, without fear, immediately makes full profession of the monastic vows, and thus, as it were, armed in the Lord, the Jakkha cannot approach him, but comes to a halt, staring

[1] Translation by Barnett, 1907, p. 86. I have restored the original *jakkha* and *jakkhāyayaṇa* in place of Barnett's "fairy" and "fairy-shrine."

fixedly at him; then he abandons the body of Ajjuṇae, and returns to his own place with the mace. Ajjuṇae falls to the ground, but on recovering himself, accompanies Sudaṁsaṇe and likewise takes the vows.

Here we find both the cult, patron-saint, and possession features well displayed; it is also clear that the Jakkha shrine is a building with doors, and it is of interest to note that the statue is of wood, and that it is provided with a club (cf. pl. 12, fig. 3). It is hardly necessary to point out that the statue is not the Jakkha; the latter appears suddenly, and carries off the club with which the statue is provided. The name Moggara-pāṇi signifies, of course, "Club-bearer." The antiquity of the shrine and simple nature of the cult remain, and so, too, the fact that the worshipper regards the Jakkha as his natural protector; but the Jakkha is represented as a fierce creature, without the sense to know when to stop—rather like the giants of European fairy-tales. But he is easily subdued by the new-made Jaina monk; and from the Jaina point of view the story is a highly edifying one.

A characteristic and almost essential feature of Hindu and Buddhist shrines is an enclosing wall or railing (*prākāra, vedikā*, etc.). The following story related in the *Dhammapada Atthakathā* (Burlingame, E. W., *Buddhist legends,* H. O. S., Vol. 28, p. 146) refers to the building of such an enclosure in the case of a tree worshipped with desire for children:

At Sāvatthī, we are told, lived a householder named Great-Wealth Mahā-Suvaṇṇa. He was rich, possessed of great wealth, possessed of ample means of enjoyment, but at the same time he was childless. One day, as he was on his way home from bathing at a ghāṭ, he saw by the roadside a large forest tree with spreading branches. Thought he, "This tree must be tenanted by a powerful tree-spirit." So he caused the ground under the tree to be cleared, the tree itself to be inclosed with a wall (*pākāra*), and sand to be spread within the inclosure. And having decked the tree with flags and banners, he made the following vow: "Should I obtain a son or a daughter, I will pay you great honor." Having so done, he went on his way.

Another story, in the *Kah-gyur* (Schiefner, *Tibetan tales,* IX) relates how

a childless Brahman had recourse to the deity of a great nyagrodha-tree (banyan), near the city called thence Nyagrodhika. He caused the ground around it to be sprinkled, cleansed, and adorned. He then filled the space with perfumes, flowers, and incense, and set up flags and standards. Then, after having entertained eight hundred Brahmans and bestowed upon them material for robes, he prayed to the tree-haunting deity, "Be pleased to bestow on me a son." In case the request were granted, he would continue to offer the like honors for a year, but if not, he would cut down the tree and burn it. The tree deity, who was in favor with the Four Great Kings, betook himself to the Mahārāja Rāṣṭrapāla, Virūḍhaka, Virūpākṣa, and Vaiśravaṇa; and the matter was ultimately arranged by the aid of Śakra and Mahābrahmā.

Another and later instance may be cited in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, V. 1, where a *bhitti-bandho*, or *bhittivedikābandha* is built round an aśoka-tree.

Elaborate structures built round the Bodhi tree are represented in numerous reliefs from Bharhut, Sāñcī, Mathurā, and Amarāvatī, and there is no reason to suppose that structures of this kind were made for the first time after the Yakkha *bhavanam* (for such it was) at Uruvelā became the Bodhi tree of Gautama.

Yakṣa caityas, etc., are constantly described as places of resort, and suitable halting or resting places for travellers; Buddhist and Jaina saints and monks are frequently introduced as resting or residing at the haunt of such and such a Yakṣa, or in such and such a Yakkha cēiya (Puṇṇabhadda cēiya, *ut supra;* the Buddha, in many of the Yakkha Suttas of the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*). Amongst other caityas or groves mentioned in Buddhist literature, the following may be cited as having been in all probability sacred to the cult of a local divinity: (1) the Cāpāla caitya given to the Buddha by the Vajjians (Licchavis) of Vaisālī (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, 78) (2) the Supatiṭṭha cetiya in the Yaṭṭhivana or Staffwood, where Buddha stayed on his first visit; it is stated, indeed, that this was the ancient place of abode of Supatiṭṭha, the god of a banyan tree (Watters, *ibid.*, II, 147), (3) the grove of sāl-trees belonging to the Mallas, where the Parinibbāṇa took place. Here the couch (*uttarasīsakaṁ*) on which the Buddha lay must have been a dais or altar originally intended for the reception of offerings. In some reliefs, tree spirits are seen in each of the two trees. (4) The Vajjian (Vaiśāli, Licchavi) caityas referred to by the Buddha (*Mahāparinibbāṇa Suttanta*, and *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, VII, 19) when he repeats the conditions of future welfare for the Vajjians, exhorting them not to allow the "proper offerings and rites as formerly given and performed at the Vajjian cetiyas to fall into desuetude." Buddhaghoṣa (*Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*) regards these as having been Yakkha cetiya, and it can hardly be doubted that this was so in most or all cases. With reference to the Sāradanda cetiya at Vaiśālī, where the Buddha was staying on the occasion of stating the conditions of Vajjian welfare, he says that "this was a *vihāra* erected on the site of a former shrine of the Yakkha Sāradanda."

In the same way Gujarātī commentators of Jaina texts interpret, no doubt correctly, the cēiyas referred to, as Jakkha shrines. But the Dūipalāsa cēiya N. E. of the Vāniyagāma suburb of Vaiśālī may be separately mentioned. Here, in the *Uvāsaga Dasāo*,[1] § 2f., we find

[1] Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p. 2.

Mahāvīra [1] in residence. The same cēiya is called a park (*ujjāṇa*) in *Vipāka Sūtra*, lect. 1, § 2, and elsewhere a cēiya of the Nāla clan. As Mahāvīra was a son of the chief of this Kṣattriya clan, Hoernle assumes that the cēiya must have been sacred to the previous Jina Pārśvanātha. But even if we regard this Jina as historical, there could have existed no Jaina cult (*pūjā*) in the time of Mahāvīra, and it is much more likely that this was a Jakkha shrine or park. When, further, the son of a pious householder of Vāniyagāma takes the vows of a lay adherent, and renounces willing offerings to " the Devas, or objects of reverence to a heterodox community," it is probable that Jakkha cēiyas are included. But here the commentory cites cēiya as " idol," and mentions Vīrabhadra and Mahākāla.

5. WORSHIP (*PŪJĀ*) IN YAKṢA SHRINES

Offerings to Yakṣas, with a long list of other beings, are referred to in several Gṛhya Sūtras as being made at the close of Vedic studies; the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, I, 11, 6, mentions Māṇibhadra. The *Āśvalayana Gṛhya Sūtra*, I, 12, describes what is called a caitya-offering (*vandana*) by householders. Hillebrandt,[2] followed by Keith, assumes that caityas erected as funeral monuments to teachers and prophets are intended, but it is much more likely that the reference is in the main to Yakṣa caityas.

The *Mahābhārata* mentions that the flowers offered to Yakṣas, Gandharvas, and Nāgas make glad the heart, hence they are called *sumanasas*, eumenides; such flowers being other than the sharp-scented, thorny and red flowers used in magical rites (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p 68). The incense made from deodar and *Vatica*

[1] As remarked by Hoernle the terms *cēiya* and *ujjāṇa, vana-saṇḍa, vana-khaṇḍa* = grove or park, are interchangeable.

[2] *Ritual-Literature*, Grundriss, III, 2, p. 86. It is quite possible that Hillebrandt (like the author of the P. T. S. Pali Dictionary) ignores here the common meanings of caitya, other than funeral mound. I cannot help suspecting too that when Keith (*Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 73) remarks that " Buddhist literature knows . . . . Yakṣas who live in relic mounds," a pre-occupation with the idea of funeral mounds (which are but one kind of caitya) underlies the statement, which seems to be founded only on a misinterpretation of the collocation Yakkha-cetiya.

It is true that the word *caitya* is said to be derived from a root *ci* meaning to build or heap up; but as used in the Epics and early Buddhist and Jaina literature, it means any holystead, altar, shrine, grove, temple, etc. May it not be derived from *cit*, with the sense therefore of an object to be meditated upon or attended to?

The Epic uses the word *eḍūka* when Bauddha cetiyas (stupās) are specifically meant; and in Jaina works, Jaina cēiyas are distinguished as *Ārhat cēiya*.

robusta is liked by all deities; but *sallakīya* incense is disliked by the gods and suitable only for the Daityas. Milk and flowers should be offered to the gods, who take only the perfume of the latter. The appearance of flowers is acceptable to Rākṣasas, but the Nāgas use them as food. On the other hand the food of Yakṣas and Rākṣasas is meat and spirituous liquor (Hopkins, *ibid.*, pp. 68, 69). Here again, as is generally the case, the Yakṣas are given a spiritual rank intermediate between that of the gods (Devas) and the lower spirits.

Manu (XI, 96) says that meat and intoxicating drinks are the food of Yakṣas, Rākṣasas and Piśācas. In the Meghadūta, II, 3, Yakṣas are described as drinking wine produced from *kalpa*-trees, in the company of fair damsels: cf. the Bacchanalian Yakṣa groups of Mathurā (pl. 14, fig. 1) and those of the ceiling of Cave I at Ajaṇṭā.

The prospector, before digging for treasure in Northern India, makes offerings of meat, sesamum seeds, and flowers, to Kuvera, Māṇibhadra, etc. (*Mahābhārata*, 14, 65, 11).

In connection with a Yakṣiṇī shrine at Rājagṛha it is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (3, 84, 105) that there was a daily service.

A passage omitted from the description of the Puṇṇabhadde cēiya cited above informs us that this sanctuary

was meet for the prayers and supplications of many prayerful folk; meet for worship, celebration, veneration, offering, largesse, and respect; meet to be waited upon with courtesy as a blessed and auspicious sanctuary of the gods, divine, truth-telling, truth-counselling (or, surely satisfying the desires of its worshippers). Miracles were manifested therein, and it received shares in thousands of sacrifices. Many people came to worship the sanctuary Puṇṇabhadde.

In the *Antagaḍa Dasāo*, loc. cit., pp. 86 ff., the garland-maker Ajjuṇae every day, before practising his trade, repairs to the temple (*jakkhāyayaṇē*) of the Yakkha Moggara-pāṇi, with flower-offerings of great worth, falls upon his knees, and does reverence.

Hariṇegamesī (see note on p. 12) is represented in the *Antagaḍa Dasāo* (loc. cit., p. 67) as receiving *pūjā:*

Sulasā was from childhood a worshipper of the god Hariṇegamesī. She caused to be made an image of H., and every morning she bathed . . . . performed the customary lustratory rites, and with a still moist robe made flower-offerings of great worth, fell upon her knees, did reverence . . . . By the lady Sulasā's devotion, veneration, and obedience the god H. was won over. So in compassion for the lady Sulasā the god H., made both her and thee to become pregnant at the same time.[1]

[1] Here "thee" refers to Queen Devai, whose living children are given to Sulasā. Later, when Queen Devai longs for children of her own, her husband Kaṇhe (Kṛṣṇa) Vāsudeva worships Hariṇegamesī; the latter's throne quakes he looks down, and sees Vāsudeva whose mind is fixed on him. He appears to Vāsudeva, "clad in robes of the five colours bearing bells," and promises that Devai shall bear a child.

In the beautiful Jaina Tamil classic, the *Jīvaka-cintāmaṇi* (Vinson, J., *Légendes bouddhistes et Djainas,* Paris, 1900, t. 2, p. 43) the grateful Jīvaka erects a temple for the Yakkha Sutañjana, sets up a statue, and dedicates a town (the rents whereof would support the service of the temple); then he has prepared a drama relating to the history of the Yakṣa, and most likely we should understand that this drama was presented in the temple on special occasions for the pleasure of the deity.

The tutelary Yakṣa at Vaisāli, as we have seen, was worshipped with oblations, dance and song, and the sound of musical instruments.

Later books appear to show that Yakṣa worship and some particular Yakṣas retained their prestige throughout the medieval period. In these texts we find a cult of the same general character, and can glean some further details. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara,* part I, chapter XIII, we find:

" In our country, within the city, there is the shrine of a powerful Yakṣa named Maṇibhadra, established by our ancestors. The people there come and make petitions at this shrine, offering various gifts, in order to obtain various blessings." Offerings (of food) are referred to, which it was the duty of the officiating priest to receive and eat. The anecdote turns upon the interesting fact that the Yakṣa temple was regularly used as a temporary jail for adulterers.

Numerous other and incidental references to Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs will be found in the same work, *passim* (*e. g.,* in ch. XXXIV, story of the Yakṣa Virūpākṣa).

The equally late Pariśiṣṭaparvan of Hemacandra (thirteenth century) Canto 3, has a story of two old women, Buddhi and Siddhi: " Buddhi had for a long time continued to sacrifice to a Yakṣa, Bhola (or Bholaka), when the god, pleased with her devotion, promised her whatever she should ask," etc. A little further on we find a human being, Lalitāṅga, " disguised as a statue of a Yakṣa."[1] The same text, Canto 2, eighth story, describes an ordeal undergone by a woman justly accused of adultery. " Now there was a statue of the Yakṣa Śobhana of such sanctity that no guilty person could pass through between its legs." The lady (like Guinevere in a similar predicament) frames an oath which is literally true but essentially false. " While the puzzled Yakṣa was still at a loss to know how to act," she passed through his legs.

Devendra, in the *Uttarādhyayana ṭīkā* (Jacobi, p. 39, Meyer, *Hindu tales,* p. 140), Story of Domuha, tells of a lady named Guṇamālā

[1] Jacobi, H., *Sthavirāvali Charitra,* Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1891, pp. 33, 37.

who "was unhappy because she had no daughter. And she vowed an oblation (*uvāiyaṁ*) to the Yakṣa called Mayaṇa . . . . a daughter was born of her. . . . . She gave the oblation to the Yakṣa."

In the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, another Jaina story book, about 1419 A. D., we find a Yakṣa by name Kapardin invoked by a Jaina layman, acting on the advice of his Guru.[1] The Yakṣa bestows wealth on his supplicant, and then relates the circumstances to his sons, "in order to manifest in their hearts the power of religion"; the Yakṣa himself is a worshipper of the Jina. It is clear that Jainism and Yakṣa worship could be as closely interrelated as Buddhism and Hinduism have often been.

Rites for attracting Yakṣīs are mentioned in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, chapter XLIX. These rites are performed in cemeteries, and are evidently Tāntrik. The beautiful Yakṣīs Vidyunmālā, Candralekhā, and Sulocanā are said to be the best among them. A certain Ādityasarman, living in Ujjayinī, obtains the last as his wife, and lives with her in Ālaka; their son Guṇasarman is sent back to the human world, and becomes a great king.

6. YAKṢA WORSHIP A BHAKTI CULT

The reader cannot fail to have observed that the facts of Yakṣa worship summarized above are almost identical with those characteristic of other and contemporary *Bhakti* (devotional) cults. It is, in fact, a great error to assume that the term *Bhagavat* ("worshipful") applies only to Viṣṇu, and *Bhaktā* ("devout worshipper") only to worshippers of Viṣṇu.[2] The rise, or, as it would be better to say, the coming into prominence of *Bhakti* cults in the centuries immediately preceding the beginning of the Christian era was not an isolated sectarian development, but a general tendency. All forms of belief were involved, Buddhism no less than others.[3]

Not only is Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu) styled Bhagavat, but also the Four Great Kings, the Mahārājas, Regents of the Quarters, amongst whom

---

[1] *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, Trans. by C. H. Tawney, London, 1901, p. 203.

[2] As might be gathered from Bhandarkar, R. G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism, and minor religious systems* (Grundriss indo-arische Ph. und A.).

[3] For the *Bhakti* character of even early Buddhism, see De la Vallée-Poussin, loc. cit. pp. 334 ff. The *Majjhima Nikāya*, 1, 142, has "He who has faith (*śrāddha*) in Me and love (*prema*) for Me will attain to heaven." So too Śaivism, "Even after committing all crimes, men by mental worship of Śiva are freed from sin" (*Mahābhārata*, 13, 18, 65). Both assurances are altogether in the spirit of the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

is Kubera, Regent of the North, himself a Yakṣa[1] (and, as Vaiśravaṇa, frequently styled Bhagavat in the *Mahābhārata*), a Nāga,[2] and the Buddha himself.[3] The Pawāyā image of the great Yakṣa Māṇibhadra has a dedicatory inscription,[4] in which the deity himself is styled Bhagavā and the members of the *goṣṭha* (corporation) for whom the image was set up speak of themselves as *Māṇībhadra-bhaktās*. Nemeṣa, too, is called Bhagavā (Mathurā inscription already cited). Thus, both the designation Bhagavat and the use of the term Bhakti are seen to be common to most, as they probably were to all of the contemporary faiths.[5]

Apart from these questions of terminology it will be evident that the facts of Yakṣa worship correspond almost exactly with those of other Bhakti religions. In fact, the use of images in temples, the practice of prostration, the offering of flowers (the typical gift, constantly mentioned), incense, food, and cloths, the use of bells, the singing of hymns, the presentation of a drama dealing with the Līlā of the deity, all these are characteristic of Hindu worship even at the present day.[6] Only the nature of the food is peculiar, and this may be attributed to the relationship of Yakṣas with Rākṣasas; nor will it be forgotten that animal sacrifices and the use of strong liquors still persists in some Śākta cults. Nothing of this cult type is to be found in the Vedas.

7. YAKṢA SOURCES IN BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

Yakṣas, as we have seen, may be represented by independent cult images, or in connection with other sectarian systems, as attendants,

[1] Pāṇini, IV, 3, 97, speaks of *Bhakti* directed towards Mahārājas, not in a political sense, but with reference to the Four Great Kings (see Bhusari in Ann. Bhandarkar Inst., VIII, 1926, p. 199). For Māṇibhadra as a Lokapāla see Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, p. 10.

[2] The Nāga Dadhikarṇa, in an inscription at Mathurā, Lüders' list, No. 85.

[3] Already at Bharhut, in the inscription *Bhagavato Saka Munino Bodho*, and on the Piprahwa vase, *Bhagavato sakiyamuni*.

[4] Garde, M. B., *The site of Padumāvatī*, A. S. I., A. R., 1915-16, Gangoly, O. C. in Modern Review, Oct. 1919; Foucher, in J. B. O. R. S.; Chanda, *Four ancient Yakṣa statues*. Text of the Brāhmī inscription: . . . . *gauṣṭhyā Māṇibhadrabhaktāgarbhasukhitāḥ Maṇibhadrasya pratimā pratiṣṭhapayaṁti*. . . . .

[5] For the meaning of *Bhagavat*, "Adorable," "Blessed," "Worshipful," etc., see Grierson, *The translation of the term Bhagavat*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910; Schrader, *ibid.*, 1911, p. 194; Hopkins, *Epic use of Bhagavat and bhakti*, *ibid.*, 1912; Govindacharya Svamin, *ibid.*, p. 483.

[6] For an admirable account of the daily office in a modern temple, see (Burgess, J.), *The ritual of Rāmeśvaram*, Indian Antiquary, XII, 1883.

guardians, and worshippers. But not only have both classes of figures their own intrinsic and aesthetic interest (pl. 1, fig. 1, and pl. 8, for example, are magnificent works), they are also of importance as factors in the development of Indian iconography generally. The force of tradition is strong, and Indian art like other arts has always by preference made use of existing types, rather than invented or adopted wholly new ones. The case is exactly parallel to that of religious development, in which the past always survives. We have to do with a conscious sectarian adaptation, accompanied by an unconscious, or at least unintentional, stylistic evolution.

In early Indian art, so far as cult images are concerned, one iconographic type stands out predominant, that is the standing figure with the right hand raised, the left on the hip. Sometimes the right hand holds a flower, or caurī, or weapon; sometimes the left grasps the robe, or holds a flask, but the position of the arms is constant. We are here, of course, concerned only with two-armed images; those with four or more arms do not appear before the second century A. D., when the fundamentals had already been established. Stylistically, the type is massive and voluminous, and altogether plastically conceived, not bounded by outlines; the essential quality is one of energy, without introspection or spiritual aspiration.

Of this type are the early images of Yakṣas, and Yakṣīs, whether independent or attendant. And it is also this type which provided the model for the cult images of other deities, such as Śiva or Buddha, when the necessities of Bhakti determined the appearance of all deities in visible forms.

Making only a passing reference to the close formal relationship recognizable between the oldest known Śiva image, that of the Guḍimallam liṅgam (pl. 17, fig. 1), and the Yakṣas of Bharhut and Sāñcī, and to the facts that the Nyagrodha, Udambara, or Aśvattha tree may be identified with Viṣṇu, and that Śiva, Śaṁkara, Kārttikeya, etc., are all Yakṣas in the Mahāmayūrī list, I propose to speak here only of the part played by the Yakṣa type in evolution of Buddhist types.

In the case of the Buddha figure, as I have recently treated the subject at length in the Art Bulletin (Vol. IX, pt. 4), I shall only point out the stylistic continuity presented in the series: Pārkham image (pl. 1, fig. 1); one of the Yakṣas from Patna (HIIA, fig. 67); Buddha in the Lucknow Museum (HIIA, fig. 79); Bodhisattva in Philadelphia (Art Bull., *loc. cit.*, fig. 50); Friar Bala's image at Sārnāth (pl. 17, fig. 2); Gupta image in the Mathurā Museum (HIIA, fig. 158). In

such a series the relationships are very evident, and there is no room for the insertion of any Hellenistic type.

The Bodhisattvas Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi and Maitreya may be discussed in greater detail.

The earliest Buddha triads are represented, as in plate 9, by a Bodhi-tree supported by two Yakṣas, each with an expanded rose-lotus (*padma*) in hand, or by a symbol (the wheel) between similar Yakṣas with a *caurī* (pl. 10, fig. 1). Yakṣas with a lotus in hand appear as guardian figures (*dvārapālas*) at Sāñcī (pl. 8) and elsewhere (pl. 7). Now, a Yakṣa with a *padma* in hand can only be described adjectivally as *padma-pāṇi;* can it be doubted that the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi (a form or designation of Avalokiteśvara), whom we find a little later attendant on the Buddha or as an independent Buddhist deity, is the same historically and iconographically, as the *padma-pāṇi* Yakṣa of the earlier sculpture? The *caurī*-bearing Yakṣas (HIIA, figs. 84, and 85 right), too, are the same as those of the earlier compositions, but we cannot as a rule give them a name.

The case of Vajrapāṇi is more involved.[1] The one obvious *vajrapāṇi* of Indian mythology is Indra, whose weapon is the thunderbolt already in the Vedas. In Buddhist mythology Indra is known as Sakka (San. Śakra), and he plays a conspicuous part in the Buddhist legend visiting or aiding the Buddha on various occasions.[2] Buddhaghoṣa[3] tells us that Vajrapāṇi is the same as Sakka; and Sakka, upon occasion (*Yakkha Suttas,* 2) may be called a Yakkha. But Sakka is never himself a Bodhisattva.

On the other hand Vajrapāṇi, independently of Indra, is called a Yakṣa in the Mahāmāyūrī list, where he is said to be the Yakṣa of Vulture's Peak, Rājagṛha (the work *kṛtālaya* seems to imply that there was a temple). A Tibetan version of the *Vinaya* speaks of a Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi (Gnod-sbyin Lag-na-rdo-rje). And in the *Lalita Vistara,* XV, 66, we have a "benevolent lord of the Guhyakas,

[1] For Vajrapāṇi in addition to references cited below, see also Vogel, *Le Vajrapāṇi gréco-bouddhique,* B. É. F. E. O. XI, 1911, p. 525, where it is observed that Vajrapāṇi and Indra are not necessarily always one and the same persons. M. Foucher has already fully established the Yakṣa origin of the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi (*L'Art gréco-bouddhique* . . . ., II, pp. 48-64). See also Senart, E., *Vajrapāṇi dans les sculptures du gandhāra,* Congr. Int. Orientalistes, 14, Alger, 1905, pp. 111-131.

[2] For a full and valuable discussion of Indra as Sakka, see Mrs. Rhys Davids, Introduction to the *Sakka-pañha Suttanta,* SBB., III., p. 294.

Waddell, *Evolution of the Buddha cult,* p. 118, citing Csoma de Körös, *Analysis of the Dulva,* Asiatic Researches, XX, 64.

[3] Commentary on the *Ambaṭṭha Sutta,* cited SBB, II, 117.

Vajrapāṇi" who appears in the air on the occasion of the Abhiniṣkramaṇa (Going Forth of the Buddha), and who, as remarked by Foucher, "desormais le quittera pas plus que son ombre," becoming, in fact, the Buddha's guardian angel.[1] This Vajrapāṇi is not the same as Sakka, who is independently present on the same occasion.

This Vajrapāṇī is constantly represented in Gandhāran reliefs, and sometimes in those of Mathurā, illustrating scenes from the Life, subsequent to the Going Forth, *e. g.*, Foucher, *loc. cit.*, figs. 191, 195, 197, 199. At his first appearance he is called a "benevolent Lord of the Guhyakas, vajra in hand." Sometimes he holds a *caurī* as well as a *vajra;* moreover, this Vajrapāṇi is generally represented as nude to the waist and without any turban or crown, thus not as a great king, as Indra should be. Moreover, this Vajrapāṇi and Sakka are often present together in one and the same scene (pl. 21, fig. 2).

Perhaps the earliest appearance of a Vajrapāṇi in a Buddha triad may be the example in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (HIIA, fig. 85, left); and here we are in doubt whether to call him Yakṣa or Bodhisattva. It may be doubted whether the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi had been recognized so early. The only early independent image which may be a representation of the Vajrapāṇi, who is not Indra, is a fragment from Mathurā, illustrated in plate 15, figure 2.[2]

Thus there was actually a Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi, not identical with Indra, but having an independent, pre-Buddhist cult; this Yakṣa became the Buddha's guardian angel and attendant, and finally came to be called the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, who sometimes appears in Buddha triads, and is sometimes the object of separate worship (HIIA, fig. 299).

As regards Maitreya, the earliest of the Bodhisattvas to be designated as such, there is less to say. His characteristic emblem is the *amṛta* ("nectar") flask, held in the left hand. It will perhaps occur to the mind of the reader that there are both Bacchanalian Yakṣas, and Bachhanalian Nāgas, who hold a cup or flask in their hands; and as in verbal imagery nothing is more characteristic of Buddhism than the reinterpretation of an old phrase in the interests of present edification (cf. *Lalita Vistara,* VII, 91, "with the Water of Life (*amṛta*) shalt thou heal the suffering due to the corruption of our mortal nature"), so here, perhaps, we have a literal example of the pouring of new wine into old bottles.

[1] Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* I, 368: and cf. *ibid.*, II, pp. 48-64.

[2] Vogel, *The Mathura school of sculpture,* A. S. I., A. R., 1909-10, p. 76 and pl. XXVIIIb.

8. WOMAN AND TREE MOTIF

Enough has been said in the course of the present article, or will be found in the accompanying illustrations, to indicate the intimate connection subsisting between spirits and trees.[1] For the rest it will suffice in the present connection to recall the Epic passage, "goddesses born in trees, to be worshipped by those desiring children," such goddesses being designated as dryads (Vṛksakā, Vṛddhikā). There is no motif more fundamentally characteristic of Indian art from first to last than is that of the Woman and Tree. In early sculptures (reliefs on pillars of[2] gateways and railings at Bharhut, Bodhgayā, Sāñcī, and Mathurā) the female figures associated with trees are voluptuous beauties, scantily clothed, and almost nude, but always provided with the broad jewelled belt (*mekhala*) which appears already on the pre-Maurya terra-cotta figures of fertility goddesses,[3] and which the *Atharva Veda* (6, 133) tells us was a long-life (*āyuṣya*) charm. Sometimes these dryads stand on a vehicle (*vāhanam*) such as a Yakṣa (*Guhya*), elephant, or crocodile (*makara*). Sometimes they are adorning themselves with jewels, or using a mirror. Very often they hold with one hand a branch of the tree under which they stand, sometimes one leg is twined round the stem of the tree (an erotic conception, for *latā* is both "creeper" or "vine," and "woman," and cf. *Atharva Veda*, VI, 8, 1, "As the creeper embraces the tree on all sides, so do thou embrace me"). Sometimes one foot is raised and rests against the trunk of the tree. Sometimes there are children, either standing beside the dryad mother, or carried astraddle on her hip. Of the trees represented the

[1] For pre- and non-Buddhist trees, tree-spirits, and sacred groves generally, see Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 6 f., and Keith, *Religions and Philosophy of the Veda*, pp. 184, 185. Trees and tree-deities play but an insignificant part in the *Rg Veda* and even in the *Atharva Veda* (Macdonnell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 154) but even here they are connected with human life and productivity; the beings inhabiting trees being called Gandharvas and Apsarases. The *Atharva Veda*, of course, contains many elements incorporated from aboriginal non-Aryan sources. It is perhaps also significant (in view of possible Sumero-Dravidian connections) that in Babylonian tradition immortality and productiveness are original functions of the tree of Fortune (Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, pp. 233, 237, etc.).

[2] Plate 4, fig. 2; pl. 5; pl. 6, figs. 2, 3; pl. 11, figs. 1, 2, 3; pl. 14, fig. 2; pl. 19; pl. 22, figs. 1, 2.

[3] Also the so-called Earth goddess of Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh (HIIA, fig. 105): this nude goddess, who is represented also in very early terracottas (see M. F. A. Bulletin, No. 152), may not be a Yakṣī.

aśoka and mango are most usual. At first sight, these figures seem to be singularly out of place if regarded with the eyes of a Buddhist or Jaina monk.[1] But by the time that a necessity had arisen for the erection of these great monuments, with their illustration of Buddhist legends and other material constituting a veritable *Biblia Pauperum*, Buddhism and Jainism had passed beyond the circle of monasticism, and become popular religions with a cult. These figures of fertility spirits are present here because the people are here. Women, accustomed to invoke the blessings of a tree spirit, would approach the railing pillar images with similar expectations; these images, like those of Nāgas and Yakṣas often set up on Buddhist and Jaina sites, may be compared to the altars of patron saints which a pious Catholic visits with prayers for material blessings.

From these types of Yakṣī dryads[2] are evidently derived three types iconographically the same, but differently interpreted: the Buddha Nativity, the aśoka-tree *dohada* motif in classical literature, and the so-called river-goddesses of medieval shrines.

[1] The array of dryads at Mathurā produces on the mind an effect like that of Aśvaghoṣa's description of the beautiful girls in Siddhārtha's palace garden, who "with their souls carried away by love . . . . assailed the prince with all manner of stratagems" (*Buddhacarita*, IV, 40-53).

But it may be said to be characteristic of Indian temples that the exterior displays the world of sensuous experience (cf. Koṇārak), while the interior chambers are plain and severe, or even empty (cf. the air-liṅgam at Cidambaram): and this arrangement, even for a Buddhist shrine, is not without its logic.

I have scarcely mentioned and have not illustrated the many interesting reliefs and paintings in which tree spirits are represented, not by a complete figure beneath a tree, but as half seen amongst the leaves, *patreṣv ardhakāyān abhinirmaya* (*Lalita Vistara*): a face, hand, two hands, or half body emerging from the branches. Representations of this kind occur already at Bharhut, and survive in the eighteenth century Buddhist painting of Ceylon. The spirits thus represented may be male or female as the case requires.

[2] That the Vṛkṣakās of the railing pillars are properly to be described as Yakṣīs is proved by the inscriptions accompanying the similar figures at Bharhut (cf. Vogel, in A. S. I., A. R., 1906-07, p. 146). Vṛkṣakā is, of course, legitimate, but hardly more than a descriptive term. Some with musical instruments should perhaps be described as Gandharvīs, or even Apsarasas, but none are represented as actually dancing, and to call them dancing girls is certainly an error.

Hoysala bracket figures, however, which preserve the motif of woman and tree, supported by a dwarf Yakṣa, are often in dancing positions, and accompanied by drummers (Smith, *H. F. A.*, fig. 163; others at Palampet and Belūr).

1. The miraculous birth of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha,[1] as is well-known, took place in the Lumbinī garden near Kapilavastu and on the road between that city and Devadaha. The tree of which the branch, "bending down in response to her need," served Mahāmāyā as support, is variously called a sāl-tree (*Nidānakathā*), mango (*Aśokāvadāna*), *plakṣa* (*Lalita Vistara*)[2] and aśoka-tree (*Divyāvadāna*, and here plate 20). In the *Divyāvadāna* Aśokā himself is represented as visiting the site and conversing with the genius of the tree, who had been a witness to the Nativity; so that the tree had originally been, or at least had come to be regarded as having been the abode of a tree-spirit when Mahāmāyā halted beneath it. It is, no doubt, the spirit of the tree that bent down the branch to meet Mahāmāyā's hand; indeed, in the drawing of a relief almost identical with our plate 20, reproduced in Burgess, *Buddhist stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, plate XXXII, a hand appears visibly from amongst the branches of the Nativity tree. The Buddha himself is sometimes aided in just this way, by a hand put forth from a tree, for example, when he emerges from the waters of Lake Pāṇihata (*Lalita Vistara*, Ch. XVIII), and after crossing the River Nairañjanā (Amarāvatī relief, Vogel, *Indian serpent lore*, pl. VII, a).

We certainly need not and should not regard Mahāmāyā, considered from the point of view of the literature, as having been herself a Vṛkṣakā; but iconographically, as she is represented in Gandhāran

---

[1] The Nativity is a stock subject in Buddhist art, Gandhāran, Amarāvatī, and later. Cf. Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pls. HI, IV; *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, I, pp. 300 ff. and II, pp. 64-72; *L'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, I, p. 163 and fig. 28: HIIA, fig. 104, upper right hand corner: Krom, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 74 (with complete list of representations).

The Amarāvatī reliefs not only come nearest to the Vṛkṣakā type, but also suggests that the Nativity had been represented in Indian art (without the child) previous to its occurrence in Gandhāra (with the child).

Another version of much interest appears at the back of a Chinese Buddha image of date 457 A. D. (Northern Wei) (Burlington Magazine Monograph on Chinese art, Sculpture, Pl. 4, D). There are two ranges; above we have the tree, female attendant, Māyā standing, the child emerging from her side, and three Devas, one with a cloth, ready to receive it; below, the First Bath and the Seven Steps. As the First Bath is here performed by polycephalous Nāgas, which are rarely met with in Gandhāra, but are highly characteristic for Mathurā, there is a probability of direct dependence on an Indian original.

[2] In the *Lalita Vistara* version, the tree is evidently regarded as a caitya-tree, for it is adorned with coloured cloths and other offerings.

and Amarāvatī reliefs and elsewhere,[1] the step is very easy from a Vṛkṣakā holding the branch of a tree and in the *hanché* ("hip-shot") pose, to that of Mahāmāyā giving birth to the child, who was miraculously born from her side.[2] The addition of attendant deities and later a further complication of the scene by a representation of the Seven Steps, etc., would present no difficulty. The literary versions are probably older that the oldest known sculptures of the Nativity;[3] how far each may be dependent on the other can hardly be determined. In any case, it is certain that the sculptor had ready to hand a composition almost exactly fulfilling the requirements of the text, so far as the principal figure is concerned.

2. The *dohada* motif. The, in India, familiar conceit that the touch of a beautiful woman's foot is needed to bring about the blossoming of the aśoka-tree seems to be equally a form of the Yakṣī-dryad theme; one railing pillar, J 55 in the Mathurā Museum, represents a woman or Yakṣī performing this ceremony[4] (pl. 6, fig. 3) and the motif survives in sculpture to the eighteenth century (pl. 19. fig. 2), if not to the present day. In Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* the exiled Yakṣa speaks of himself as longing for his wife no less than the aśoka-tree desires the touch of her foot. Even in the *Mālavikāgni-*

[1] The formula was certainly not, as suggested by Foucher, *L'Iconographie bouddhique*, I, 164, created "par l'art superieur des artistes Indogrecs"; it is only possible that they were the first to put in the attendant figures, but we cannot be sure of even this. Even the crossed legs, described by many European writers, grotesquely enough, as a dancing position, are taken over from the Yakṣī-dryads. Le Coq, *Bilder-Atlas*, figs. 153 and 156 not only describes Mahāmāyā as being in "Tänzerinnenstellung," but also a dryad from Bharhut, who with both arms and one leg is clinging to her tree, while her weight is rested on the other foot (pl. 4, fig. 2); to dance under either of these circumstances would not only be a remarkable acrobatic feat, but in direct contradiction to the whole pose. To stand with crossed legs, particularly when leaning against a tree, is in India a position of rest and therefore not inappropriate (as a dancing pose would be) to the representation of a miraculously painless parturition.

The motif has been well discussed (with reference to this and other misunderstandings) by Berstl, *Indo-koptische Kunst*, Jahrb. as. Kunst, 1, 1924; where a Western migration of the motif is also recognized.

[2] It is perhaps worth remarking that Cunningham once "erroneously identified" one of the Mathurā railing dryads "with Māyā standing under the *sāl* tree" (Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus., Mathura*, p. 6).

[3] The legend of the miraculous birth is found already in the *Acchariyabbhūta Sutta*, No. 123, in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, thus considerably antedating the *Nidānakathā* version (Chalmers, in J. R. A. S., 1894). The Four Devas are mentioned.

[4] Vogel, Catalogue, pp. 44, 153; *La belle et l'arbre aśoka*, B. É. F. E. O., XI, 1911; Cf. [Gangoly, O. C.], *A brass statuette from Mathurā*, Rūpam, 2, 1920.

mitra, where Mālavikā, a mortal woman, is to perform the ceremony, the scene takes place beside a "slab of rock" under the aśoka-tree, and this shows that the tree itself was a sacred tree haunted by a spirit.[1]

The word *dohada* means a pregnancy longing, and the tree is represented as feeling, like a woman, such a longing, nor can its flowers open until it is satisfied. Thus the whole conception, even in its latest form as a mere piece of rhetoric, preserves the old connection between trees and tree spirits, and human life.

3. The River-goddesses.[2] The dryad types with *makara* vehicles (pl. 6, figs. 1 and 2, pl. 14, fig. 2, and pl. 19, figs. 1 and 2) bear an intimate relation, not amounting to identity, with the figures of river-goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā, with *makara* and tortoise vehicles placed at the doorways of many northern medieval temples. I propose to discuss this subject more fully elsewhere.

CONCLUSION

The observations collected in the foregoing pages may be summarized as follows:

Kuvera and other Yakṣas are indigenous non-Aryan deities or genii, usually beneficent powers of wealth and fertility. Before Buddhism and Jainism, they with a corresponding cosmology of the Four or Eight Quarters of the Universe, had been accepted as orthodox in Brahmanical theology. Their worship long survived, but in purely sectarian literature they appear only to serve the ends of edification, either as guardians and defenders of the faith, or to be pointed to as horrible examples of depravity.

Yakṣa worship was a Bhakti cult, with images, temples, altars, and offerings, and as the greater deities could all, from a popular point of view, be regarded as Yakṣas, we may safely recognize in the worship of the latter (together with Nāgas and goddesses) the natural source of the Bhakti elements common to the whole sectarian development which was taking place before the beginning of the Kuṣāna period. The designation Yakṣa was originally practically synonymous with Deva or Devatā, and no essential distinction can be made between Yakṣas and Devas; every Hindu deity, and even the Buddha, is spoken

[1] *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act. III; cf. *Raghuvaṁsa*, VIII, 62.

[2] River-goddesses: Smith, V. A., *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 160, 161 and figs. 111, 112; Maitra, A. K., *The river-goddess Gaṅgā*, Rūpam, 6, 1921; Vogel, *Gaṅgā et Yamunā dans l'iconographie bouddhique*, Études asiatiques, 1925 (the best discussion); Diez, E., *Zwei unbekannte Werke der indischen Plastik in Ethnographisch Museum, Wien.*, Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst und Kultur Asiens, I, 1926.

of, upon occasion, as a Yakṣa. "Yakṣa" may have been a non-Aryan, at any rate a popular designation equivalent to Deva, and only at a later date restricted to genii of lower rank than that of the greater gods. Certainly the Yakṣa concept has played an important part in the development of Indian mythology, and even more certainly, the early Yakṣa iconography has formed the foundation of later Hindu and Buddhist iconography. It is by no means without significance that the conception of Yakṣattva is so closely bound up with the idea of reincarnation.

Thus the history of Yakṣas, like that of other aspects of non-Aryan Indian animism, is of significance not only in itself and for its own sake, but as throwing light upon the origins of cult and iconography, as well as dogma, in fully evolved sectarian Hinduism and Buddhism. And beyond India, if, as is believed by many, characteristic elements of the Christian cult, such as the use of rosaries, incense, bells and lights, together with many phases of monastic organization, are ultimately of Buddhist origin,[1] we can here, too, push back their history to more ultimate sources in non- and pre-Aryan Indian *pūjās*.

Adherents of some "higher faiths" may be inclined to deprecate or to resent a tracing of their cults, still more of dogmas, to sources associated with the worship of "rude deities and demons" (Jacobi) and "mysterious aboriginal creatures" (Mrs. Rhys Davids). But if the Brāhmans in fact took over and accepted from popular sources the concept of devotion to personal deities, and all that this implied, do we not sufficiently honor these thinkers and organizers of theological systems in recognizing that they knew how to utilize in the service of more intellectual faiths, and to embody in the structure of civilization, not only their own abstract philosophies, but also the "forces brutes mystiques" (De la Vallée-Poussin) of pre-Hindu Hinduism? And if some elements of ancient Hindu cult, perhaps of millennial antiquity, are still preserved in the Christian office, this is no more than evidence of the broad unity that underlies religious tendencies and acts everywhere and always; pagan survivals in all current faiths are signs of fulfillment, rather than of failure. And in India it becomes more than ever clear that thought and culture are due at least in equal measure both to Aryan and indigenous genius.

[1] See Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*; Berstl, *Indo-koptische Kunst*, Jahrb. as. Kunst, I, 1924.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate 1

1. The Yakṣa Kuṇika (the Pārkham image now in the Mathurā Museum): height 8′ 8″. Photo by Johnston and Hoffmann.

   The date and identification of this figure have been matters of great controversy.[1] All that can be safely said is that the inscription is in characters generally corresponding to those of the Aśokan and Piprahwa vase inscriptions. Almost the only significant part of the text in the reading of which all students agree is the name Kuṇika. This name has since been found on the so-called statue of Manasā Devī at Mathurā,[2] which is named in the inscription as that of a Yakṣiṇī, sister of Kuṇika. These data appear to confirm the view long held, that the Pārkham image (so-called from the place of its discovery) represents a Yakṣa and dates from the Maurya period. When first discovered, the Pārkham image was being worshipped by the villagers as a Devatā, the Barodā fragment (HIIA, fig. 15) as a Yakheyā. See also Chanda, R., in Mem. A. S. I., vol. 30.

   The Pārkham image is of great importance as the oldest known Indian stone sculpture in the round; it establishes a formulae which can be followed through many succeeding centuries. A female statue from Besnagar, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, height 7′ 7″, and perhaps representing a Yakṣī, is also contemporary (see HIIA, fig. 8), so too, or but little later, is a colossal female cauri-bearer from Dīdargañj near Patna (HIIA, fig. 17). There is, or was, another Yakṣa (or king) figure at Deoriya, near Allahābād (see reproduction in my *Origin of the Buddha Image*, Art Bulletin, 1927, Pt. 4, fig. 47); here it can be seen clearly that the left hand is placed on the hip; further, the figure wears a turban, and is sheltered by an umbrella. The Deoriya figure must be of about the same (Maurya) date as the Pārkham image.

2. The Yakṣa Bhagavata Māṇibhadra, set up by a guild of Māṇībhadrabhaktās, at Pawāyā, Gwāliar State, now in the Gwāliar Museum, First century B. C. Photograph by the author.

Plate 2

1, 2. The Yakṣa Nandi, and another Yakṣa or king; perhaps the Yakṣī Nandi of Nandinagara, or the pair may be the Yakṣas Nandi and Vardhana of Nandivardhana. Patna, second century B. C., now in the Museum at Patna. A. S. photographs.

---

[1] Mr. Jayaswal (J. B. O. R. S., V, 1919) attempted to prove that the inscription included the name of King Kuṇika Ajātaśatru, and he identified and dated it accordingly about 618 B. C. (according to others this Śaiśunāga king died about 459 B. C.). Fatal objections to Mr. Jayaswal's views are raised by Chanda, *Four Ancient Yaksa statues*, in the Journal of the Dept. of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. IV, 1921, where other references will be found.

[2] For the figure of "Manasā Devī," probably also of Maurya date, see Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. India, 1920-21, pl. XVIII, and *ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 165.

PLATE 3

1. The Yakṣa Kuvera (*Kupiro Yakho*), Bharhut, second century B. C., now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The *vāhanam*, not well seen, is a crouching dwarf demon (Guhya a?) with pointed ears. India Office photograph.
2. The Yakṣa Supavasu, Bharhu same date; *vāhanam*, an elephant. Now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. India Office photograph.

LATE 4

1. A Yakṣī or Devatā from Bharhut, found at Batanmara: *vāhanam*, a running dwarf. India Office photograph.
2. Culakoka Devatā, from Bharhut: *vāhanam*, an elephant. Now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. India Office photograph.

PLATE 5

1. Yakṣī or Devatā from Bharhut; *vāhanam*, a horse accompanied by a dwarf with a water-vessel, Now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.
2. Yakṣī or Devatā: human (?) *vāhanam*. Bodhgayā. India Office photograph.

PLATE 6

1. The Yakṣī Sudarsanā, from Bharhut: *vāhanam*, a *makara*. Now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. India Office photograph.
2. Yakṣī under aśoka-tree; *vāhanam*, a *makara*. From Mathurā, now B. 51 in the Lucknow Museum. L. Mus. photograph.
3. Yakṣī under aśoka-tree, with one foot pressed against its stem (*dohada* motif). From Mathurā, in the Mathurā Museum. A. S. photograph.

PLATE 7

Yakṣa with *padma* in hand (*padma-pāṇi*); and auspicious pair (*mithuna*, Yakṣa and Yakṣī?). At Amīn, near Thanesar. Second century B. C. A. S. photograph.

PLATE 8

Guardian Yakṣa at the base of a pillar, north *toraṇa*, *Sāñcī*. The panel above shows the worship of a sacred tree (*caitya-vṛkṣa*) in a grove (the Veṇuvana at Rājagṛha); though the theme is here Buddhist, the relief serves very well to illustrate some of the descriptions of Jakkha cēiē cited above. First half of first century B. C. India Office photograph.

PLATE 9

Part of the north *toraṇa*, Sāñcī. The three uprights of the lower series constitute a Buddha triad, with, in the center, the Buddha represented by the Bodhi-tree, and on each side a *padmapāṇi* Yakṣa (prototype of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi). First half of first century B. C. Photograph by Johnston and Hoffmann.

PLATE 10.

1. West *toraṇa*, Sāñcī, showing Yakṣa (Guhya) Atlantes. Two panels of the right hand pillar show the worship of caitya-trees. India Office photograph.

2. Upper part of north *toraṇa*, Sāñcī, with a caurī-bearing Yakṣa; showing also a symbol (often but wrongly styled *vardhamāna*). There was originally a Buddha triad consisting of a Dhamnacakka between two Yakṣas. First half of first century B. C. Photograph by Johnston and Hoffmann.

PLATE 11

1, 2. Front and rear views of a dryad bracket (Vṛkṣakā and mango-tree) east *toraṇa*, Sāñcī; first half of first century B. C. Photographs by the author.
3. Dryad (Yakṣī or Vṛkṣakā) putting on an earring; with banyan (?) tree. Framed in a "caitya-window" niche. Amarāvatī, second century A. D. or earlier. British Museum? India Office photograph.
4. Yakṣa bearing a garland, from rail-coping, Amarāvatī, second century A. D. British Museum? India Office photograph.

PLATE 12

1. *Kusapadalamānava Jātaka*, with the Yakṣī Assamukhi. Railing medallion from Pāṭaliputra, early second century B. C., now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. There are similar medallions at Sāñcī (Stūpa II) and Bodhgayā. Indian Museum photograph.
2. Yakṣa (?) with bell (cf. fig. 29, right). Terracotta, about first century A. D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. M. F. A. photograph.
3. Yakṣa (?): held by the right arm, not seen in the photograph, is a broad club; thus the Yakṣa might be described as *mudgara-pāṇi* (cf. the Yakṣa Moggarapāṇi, *supra*). Terracotta, Maurya or earlier? Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. M. F. A. photograph.
4. Yakṣa (?) holding a ram; perhaps a bucolic divinity, a kind of Kṣetrapāla. Terracotta, from Ujjain, probably Kuṣāna, first or second century A. D. Author's collection. M. F. A. photograph.

PLATE 13

1. Yakṣas (Guhyas) as Atlantes, Bharhut, Ca. 175 B. C. Indian Museum, Calcutta. India Office photograph.
2. Winged Yakṣas (Guhyas) as Atlantes; from a railing pillar at Bodhgayā, about 100 B. C. Photograph by Johnston and Hoffmann.
3. Yakṣas as Atlantes, Graeco-Buddhist, from Jamālgarhi. One is winged, and provided with a bell. In Lahore Museum. India Office photograph.

PLATE 14

1. Bacchanalian Kuvera, Kuṣāna, late second century A. D. From Mathurā, in the Mathurā Museum. A. S. photograph.
2. Yakṣī or Vṛkṣakā (so-called river-goddess Ganges) originally one of a pair from a doorway (forming the upper parts of the jambs): *vāhanam*, a *makara*; tree, a mango. Gupta, about 400 A. D. From Besnagar, now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. M. F. A. photograph.

PLATE 15

1. Pāñcika and Hāritī, the Tutelary Pair, patron deities of wealth and fertility. Graeco-Buddhist, from Sahri-Bahlol, now in the Lahore Museum. Early second century A. D. A. S. photograph.

2. Yakṣa (?) Vajrapāṇi from Mathurā. Kuṣāna; early second century A. D.? Height of the fragment, 1' 9". Now E 24 in the Mathurā Museum. A. S. photograph.

PLATE 16

1. Yakṣa, on railing to pillar, Kaṅkālī Tīlā, Mathurā. Probably first century A. D.
2. Yakṣa, probably Vaiśravaṇa, with flames, from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā, same date. Both after Smith, *Jaina stupa of Mathurā*. Both in the Lucknow Museum.

PLATE 17

1. Paraśurāmeśvara liṅgam (Śiva), Guḍimallam, about 100 B. C. For comparison with Yakṣa types from Bharhut, etc. A. S. photograph.
2. Colossal Bodhisattva (Buddha), of Mathurā manufacture, set up by Friar Bala at Sārnāth, 123 A. D. For comparison with Yakṣa types, plate 1, figure 1, and plate 2, figure 1. A. S. photograph.

PLATE 18

1. Gaṇeśa, with chain of bells; from Bhumara. Gupta, about fifth century. A. S. photograph.
2. Dvārapāla, a Yakṣa, with chain of bells. South Indian, Coḷa, about the tenth century. Property of C. T. Loo.

PLATE 19

1. Yakṣī, on door-jamb at Tāḍpatri; *makara vāhanam*. The tree is now much conventionalized and proceeds from the makara's mouth. The parrot (Kāmadeva's *vāhanam*), perched on the Yakṣī's arm, is a further indication that the *makara* in these associations is rather to be connected with Kāmadeva than regarded as a river-symbol. Parrots or parrokeets are represented already on the shoulders of the voluptuous Yakṣīs from the Bhūteśar side in Mathurā: and in the *Lalita Vistara*. Ch. XXI, some of the apsarasas, Māra's (Kāmadeva's) daughters, tempting the Bodhisattva, are said to have parrokeets or jays perched on their heads or shoulders. Smaller Yakṣa (Guhya) Atlantes on right side (cf. plate 13). A. S. photograph.
2. Yakṣī, on door jamb of the Subrahmaṇiya temple at Tanjore, eighteenth century. *Makara vāhanam;* the tree much conventionalized; the Yakṣī holds a parrot and is pressing one foot against the trunk of the (presumably) aśoka-tree (*dohada* motif). Photograph by the author.

PLATE 20

The conception and nativity of Siddhārtha. Upper right, the Dream of Māyā Devī (Mahāmāyā) (Incarnation of the Bodhisattva in the form of a white elephant); one female attendant also sleeping, and the Four Great Kings, the Lokapālas (Kubera, etc.), occupying the four corners of the chamber, on guard. Upper left, The Interpretation of the Dream; Māyā Devī seated, King Suddhodana enthroned, two Brahman soothsayers

seated below. Lower right, the Nativity; Māyā Devī under the aśoka-tree, supporting herself by one hand (woman and tree, or yakṣī motif), with one attendant; to her proper right, the Four Great Kings holding a cloth on which the presence of the infant, miraculously born from her right side, is indicated by two small feet. The stool represents the First Bath. Lower left, Presentation at the Shrine of the Yakṣa Śākyavardhana, as related in the Tibetan Dulva; Mahāprajāpatī, aunt of the child, holding the infant in the cloth, where its presence is again indicated by the two small feet; two female attendants, one with an umbrella. The shrine of the tutelary Yakṣa consists of a tree and altar, the Yakṣa visibly emerging from the altar and bowing to the child. From Amarāvatī, late second century A. D.; now in the British Museum.

Another representation of the same subject, also from Amarāvatī, is illustrated in Fergusson, J., *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pl. LXIX; here the Yakṣa is leaning forward from a sort of booth which may be called a temple, and bowing to the child. A third example (Burgess, *Buddhist stupas of Amaravati and Jagayyapeta*, frontispiece, detail) resembles that of our Plate 20. A fourth, *ib.* Pl. XXXII, 2, differs from our Plate 20 only in minute details.

PLATE 21

1. Māyā Devī's dream, Descent of the Bodhisattva, in the form of a white elephant. The elephant is seen in a pavilion, supported by four Yakṣas. Amarāvatī, late second century A. D. India Office photograph.
2. The visit of Indra. On the right, the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi above, Indra standing below. Kuṣāna, second century A. D., Mathurā. Property of L. Rosenberg, Paris.
3, 4. Pāñcika and Hāritī, from door jambs. Kuṣāna, Mathurā, first or second century A. D.
5. Pāñcika and Hāritī. Kuṣāna, Mathurā, first or second century A. D.
6. Scene from the Buddha's life: the Buddha, nimbate, in center, the Bodhi tree above him; on the proper right, four women, of whom two at least are represented as tree spirits. I cannot identify the scene. Amarāvatī, late second century A. D. British Museum? India Office photograph.

PLATE 22.

1. Yakṣī (*vṛksakā*, dryad) bracket, from the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā. Kuṣāna, first century A. D. Lucknow Museum. L. Mus. photograph.
2. Yakṣī, Madura, seventeenth century. Photograph by Dr. Denman W. Ross.
3. *Nārī-latā*, ivory, Ceylon, eighteenth century. Colombo Museum. Author's photograph.
4. Yakṣa, probably Kubera; now C 18 in the Mathurā Museum. Author's photograph.

PLATE 23

1, 2. Yakṣa (gaṇa) garland-bearers. One with an elephant's head, suggesting Gaṇeśa. Amarāvatī, late second century A. D. Madras Museum? India Office photographs.
3. Palace of Kāmadeva, a dance of Yakṣas. Central architrave, back face of north *toraṇa*, Sāñcī, about 100 B. C. India Office photograph.

APPENDIX

I

I owe to Professor Walter Eugene Clark the following tale of a Yakṣa, found in the *Divyāvadāna*, 275, *et seq.* A certain man was the keeper of a *śulka-śālā* or toll-house. When he died, he was reborn among the Vyāḍa-Yakṣas. He appeared to his sons in a dream and told them to make a *yakṣasthāna* and attach a bell. He said that the bell would ring if anyone tried to smuggle merchandise past without paying toll. A man tried to smuggle in a *yamalī* of fine cloth concealed in the stick of his umbrella. The bell kept ringing and the merchants were detained till he confessed.

This is very like the Vaiśāli story cited above, pp. 14, 15. The *yakṣasthāna* may have been a separate shrine, or more likely a shrine made within the toll-house: presumably there was an image, and the bell was hung round its neck.

II

The well-known Besnagar *kalpa-druma* capital, representing a banyan having below its branches three money bags, and a conch, lotus, and jar, from which square coins are welling up, probably represents Kubera in his capacity of Dhanada, "Wealth-giver." The banyan-tree is mentioned in *Mahāvaṃsa*, X, 89 as specifically his abode. Śaṅkha and Padma personified as lords of wealth are amongst the eight treasures of Kubera (*Harivaṃśa*, 2467 and 6004, and *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III, 53). The conch with coins or vegetation rising from it occurs as a symbol elsewhere.

III

Page 2, note 1, add: It is perhaps significant of the orthodox Vedic Brahmanical attitude towards the Yakṣa cult that in *Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra*, I, 5, 9 *caitya-vṛkṣas* are mentioned in a list of objects of which the touch causes defilement requiring purification.

IV

Yakṣa of the *Kirātārjunīya* story (p. 14): The Yakṣa, described as a follower of Kubera, appears in Bharavi's drama *Kirātārjunīya*, guiding Arjuna to the Indrakīla (see H. O. S., Vol. 15).

V

The shrine of Kāmadeva in *Mṛcchakaṭika*, I, 32, is situated in a grove (*Kāmadevā adaṇaujjāṇa* = *Kāmadeva ayatana udhyāna*).

1 2

Yakṣas, from Pārkham and Pawāyā.

(For explanation, see pages 7, 20, 38)

1 2

Yakṣas, from Patna.
(For explanation, see pages 12, 38)

1 2

Yakṣas, from Bharhut.

(For explanation, see pages 8, 39)

1 2

Yakṣīs or Devatās, from Bharhut.

(For explanation, see pages 32, 35, 39)

1 2

Yakṣis or Devatās, from Bharhut and Bodhgayā.

(For explanation, see pages 32, 39)

1 2 3

Yakṣīs, from Bharhut and Mathurā.

(For explanation, see pages 32, 39)

Yakṣa and *mithuna*, from Amīn.

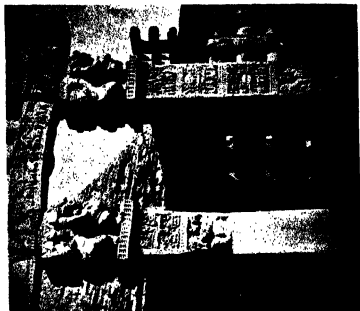
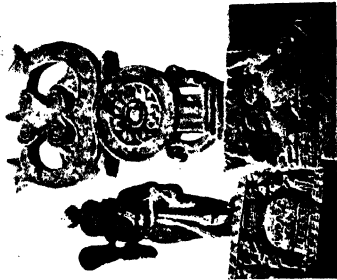
(For explanation, see pages 30, 39)

Yakṣa, at Sāñcī.

(For explanation, see pages 29, 30, 39)

Yakṣas and Bodhi-tree, at Sāñcī

(For explanation, see pages 30, 39)

1

Toraṇa, at Sāñcī, with Yakṣa caryatides.

2

Yakṣa and Buddhist symbol, *toraṇa*, Sāñcī.

(For explanation, see pages 39, 40)

1

2

Yakṣī bracket West *toraṇa*, Sāñcī.

3

Yakṣī, Amarāvatī.

4

Yakṣa, Amarāvatī.

(For explanation, see pages 32, 40)

1
The Yakṣī Assamukhī.

2
Yakṣa with bell.

3
Yakṣa.

4
Yakṣa.

(For explanation, see pages 10, 15, 22, 40)

1

2

3

Yakṣas as Atlantes or Caryatides.
1, Bharhut. 2, Bodhgayā. 3, Jamālgarhi.

(For explanation, see pages 8, 40)

1
Bacchanalian Kubera: Mathurā.

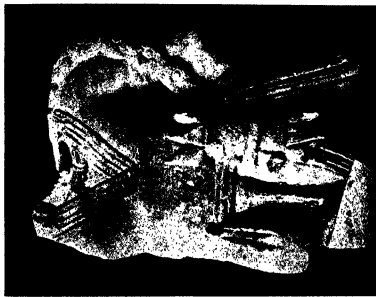
2
Yakṣī, from Besnagar.

(For explanation, see pages 25, 32, 36, 40)

1
Pāñcika and Hāritī: Sahri-Bahlol.

2
Vajrapāṇi; Mathurā

(For explanation, see pages 9, 10, 31, 40, 41)

1 2

Yakṣas from Mathurā.

(For explanation, see pages 7, 41)

1
Śiva-liṅgam: Guḍimallam.

2
Bodhisattva (Buddha), from Mathurā, at Sārnāth.

(For explanation, see pages 8, 29, 41)

1

Gaṇeśa: Bhumara.

2

Yakṣa dvārapāla, S. Indian.

(For explanation, see pages 7, 15, 41)

1 2

Yakṣīs, from Tāḍpatri and Tanjore.

(For explanation, see pages 32, 36, 41)

Conception and Nativity of Buddha; Amarāvatī.

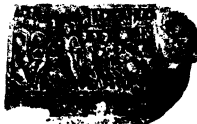
(For explanation, see pages 32, 34, 41, 42)

1
Descent of the Bodhisattva.
Amarāvatī.

2
Visit of Indra; Vajrapāṇi
above: Mathurā.

3
Kubera: Mathurā.

4
Hāritī: Mathurā.

5
Kubera and Hāritī; Mathurā.

6
Scene from Buddha's life;
Amarāvatī.

(For explanation, see pages 8, 9, 10, 31, 42)

1
Yakṣī *toraṇa* bracket: Mathurā.

2
Yakṣī: Madura.

3
Nārī-latā: Ceylon.

4
Yakṣa: Mathurā.

(For explanation, see pages 6, 32, 42)

1
Gaṇa garland-bearers; Amarāvatī.

2
Gaṇa garland-bearers; Amarāvatī.

3
Māra in darbār, with a dance of Yakṣas; Sāñcī.

(For explanation, see pages 7, 8, 13, 42)

YAKSAS

Part II

(WITH 50 PLATES)

1. ADDENDA TO YAKSAS, PART I[1]

PAGE 2, note 1, add: Arbman, E., *Rudra,* Upsala, 1922. M. Peri (B. É. F. E. O., XVII, ii, p. 46) has remarked in connection with *bali* offerings (*bhūta-yajña*) of all kinds that they "present a family likeness which leads us to suppose that they are all, whether Buddhist or Brahmanical, derived from ancient rites."

PAGE 4, note 3, add: Walhouse, J. M., *On the belief in bhutas, devil and ghost worship in Western India,* Journ. Anthrop. Soc., 1876, pp. 411, 412; and Wickremasinghe, Don M. de Z., *Cat. Sinhalese Mss. in the British Museum,* 1900, pp. 44-54.

PAGE 5, substitute for the first and second paragraphs:

The word Yakṣa occurs several times in the *Ṛg Veda, Atharva Veda, Brāhmaṇas;* and *Upaniṣads;* in the earlier texts it has generally been thought to mean "something wonderful or terrible," not clearly definable. In the most recent discussion, Hillebrandt[2] finds as the earliest meaning "magician, uncouth being, unseen spiritual enemy, etc.," then simply a "supernatural being of exalted character," and finally "Yakṣa" in the ordinary sense. The etymology of "Yakṣa" is very uncertain; Professor A. B. Keith writes to me that he regards it as obviously connected with the root *yaj,* to worship; Hillebrandt suggests a connection with Vedic *yakṣ* in *pra-yakṣ,* to honor. There may be a connection with the mysterious fever called *yakṣma* in the *Atharva Veda.* Or the word, as well as the source of the concept, may be non-Aryan.

In any case the ideas of the wonderful, mysterious, supernatural, unknown, of magical power, invisibility, and spirit-hood are all more or less involved in the early references; but these ideas are hardly to be distinguished from those connected with the Yakṣa concept when later on the cult of Yakṣas comes clearly into view, and it is often, especially at that time, difficult to distinguish between Deva, Devatā, and Yakṣa, especially in the Buddhist literature, where all alike are regarded as rebirths of human beings, and subject in due course to further human incarnation. In one place or another every Indian deity without exception, is spoken of as a Yakṣa, and in all these cases the sense is honorific.

In the earliest texts a dual attitude is recognizable, one of fear and dislike, the other of respect. The first seems to me to reflect merely an Aryan dislike and distrust of aboriginal deities. For this attitude we have the texts RV., IV,

[1] My *Yakṣas,* Washington, 1928, is now out of print. The Addenda here made (amongst which those to be substituted for two paragraphs on page 5 of the original text are by far the most important) will be incorporated in a new edition; in the meantime they are made available to those who possess the first.

[2] Hillebrandt, A., *Vedisch Yakṣa,* in Festgabe Richard Garbe, Erlangen, 1927.

3, 13 "Do not (O Agni) consort with the Yakṣa (? familiar spirit) of any smooth swindler, intriguing neighbour, etc."; RV., V, 70, 4 "Let us not, O ye gods of great power, encounter a Yakṣa"; RV., VII, 56, 16 *yakṣadṛṣo* "espying the Yakṣa" (regarded as an invisible enemy to what is being undertaken); RV., VII, 6, 15 where *yakṣa* in the sense "invisible" seems to be contrasted with *citra* in the sense of "visible" and *Kāuśika Sūtra,* 93, 3, where Yakṣas are classed with other *adbhūtāni* as creatures of ill-omen. Charpentier, in J. R. A. S., 1930, pp. 325-345, argues that the word *nāicaśākha* in RV., III, 53, 14, means "worshippers of the banyan tree" and that the cult was hateful to Aryans because of human sacrifices performed in connection with it (for a contrary view see *ib.*, p. 894).

Before discussing the second attitude, that of high respect, characteristically exhibited in the *Atharva Veda* and *Upaniṣads*, reference must be made to RV., I, 24, 7, "In the Unsupported (sky) King Varuṇa, he of purified intelligence, sets up the top of the tree. Downward are they (the branches), above their base. May the rays reside in us"; and RV., X, 82, 5 "Prior to the sky, prior to this earth, prior to the living gods, what is that Germ which the waters held first and in which all the gods existed? The waters held that same Germ in which all the gods existed; on the navel of the Unborn stood that in which all beings stood." This prototype of the later (Mbh. III, 272, 44 and XII, 207, 13) conception of the reclining Nārāyana, resting upon the waters, and giving birth to Brahmā (demiurge) by way of a lotus, of which the stem rises from his (Nārāyaṇa's) navel, is developed as follows, in the *Atharva Veda*, X, 7, 38, with reference to Varuṇa, Brahman or Prajāpati as the supreme and ultimate source of life: "A great Yakṣa in the midst of the universe, reclining in concentrated-energy (*tapas*) on the back of the waters, therein are set whatever gods there be, like the branches of a tree about a trunk."

Significance is to be attached to this concept of the tree of life springing from a navel.[1] For Yakṣas are primarily vegetation spirits, guardians of the vegetative source of life (*rasa* = sap in trees = *soma* = *amṛta*), and thus closely connected with the waters.[2] These ideas of the origin of life in the waters are set forth in

[1] See my *Tree of Jesse, and Indian parallels or sources*, Art Bulletin, XI, 2, 1929. The creative significance of the navel appears also in Avestan mythology in connection with Apām Napāt = Vedic Apām Napāt, the "son of the waters," who is also Agni, the word napāt meaning both "offspring of" and "navel of," cf. Zend *nāfyo*, "offspring," from *nāfa*. "navel." On the sexual significance of the navel (*nābhi*) and *vedi* as both representing the womb of the Earth Goddess see Johannsen, *Ueber die altindische Göttin Dhiṣaṇā*, pp. 51-55. A relation or identity of Apām Napāt with Varuṇa is suggested by RV., II, 35, 8 and V, 2, 8 where all creatures and plants are described as shooting out from Apām Napāt and multiplying in progeny. Cf. below, p. 24, note.

[2] Cf. RV., VII, 65, 2 and 88, 6, also *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, 204, where Varuṇa is called a Yakṣa; AV., XI, 2, 24 "Thine, O Paśupati, is the Yakṣa within the waters, for thine increase flow the waters of heaven"; Vessavaṇa's (Kubera's) sea Dharaṇī "whence arise the clouds, whence the rain falls" (*Dīgha Nikāya*, II, 201); the powers exercised by the tutelary Yakṣa Sāta (p. 3, *infra*); and the connection of the Yakṣas and Yakṣīs with *makaras* and other riverine monsters as "vehicles."

the later "decorative" art of the water-cosmology by the constantly recurring formula of a lotus rhizome bearing leaves and flowers (*latā-kamma*, *malā-kamma*, Vin. 117, 152, cf. *latā-yaṭṭhi*, *kusuma-yaṭṭhi*, Mhv. XI, 10-13), often supporting or framing birds and animals (cf. *sakuna-yaṭṭhi*, Mhv., *loc. cit.*), and typically springing from the mouth or navel of a Yakṣa, or the more obvious water symbols, the brimming vessel (*puṇṇa-ghaṭa*) or open jaws of a *makara* or a fish-tailed elephant. A fuller treatment of this subject will be found below; here we need only remark a connecting link between the Yakṣa, who is Brahman and the later Yakṣas who are Lords of Life. That Yakṣas in the accepted sense are familiar to the *Atharva Veda* is more definitely established in VIII, 10, 28 where Kubera and his son are already called *puṇyajana* (also *ib.* XI, 10, 24), "good folk" (*itarajana*, "other folk" in the Kashmir text), and what they are said to "milk" from Virāj as their subsistence is the power of concealment. In A.V., XI, 6, 10 Yakṣas are invoked with all the other gods mentioned in the same section.

To speak then of Brahman or Prajāpati as a great Yakṣa is effectively to say of him, great divinity, great power. Nor is this the only Vedic passage (though it may be the earliest) in which he is thus called Yakṣa. In the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, I, 1 and *Tâitt. Brāhmaṇa*, 3, 12, 3, 1 Brahman speaking says "by concentrated energy (*tapas*) I became the primal Yakṣa"; in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 5, 4 we have "He who knows that great Yakṣa as the primal-born, that is, that Brahma is the Real, he conquers these worlds"; in *Kena Upaniṣad*, 3, (15), and *Jâiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, IV, 20, where Brahman shows himself to the gods, who know him not, they ask "What Yakṣa is this?," and come at last to know through "Umā" that it is Brahman. In all these cases, no doubt the implication "wonderful being" is involved; but we come much nearer to understanding the native plexus of ideas if we retain the original "Yakṣa," than we do by a translation expressly designed to avoid a supposedly mistaken identification of the Vedic and the later Yakṣa concept. As a matter of fact, as we have already shown, the Yakṣa concept in its "later" sense was certainly known to the *Atharva Veda*, and therefore and so much the more was it certainly well-known in the time of the *Upaniṣads*. In reality the Aupaniṣadic "Brahman-Yakṣa" represents a concept that goes back to the Ṛg Veda, where it is originally applicable to Varuṇa. An intermediate stage is represented in a passage of the *Atharva Veda* (X, 3, 43) where the indwelling spirit or self of man is called *ātmanvat Yakṣa*—"The lotus flower of nine gates, veiled by the three qualities (*guṇas*), what self-like Yakṣa dwells therein, that (only) the Brahman-knowers know."

For Yakkha as individual soul see also Pali Text Soc., *Pali Dictionary*, *s. v. Yakkha*, 7. As *ātmanvat* and as *ārakkha devatā*, cf. Persian *Fravashi*.

In the *Gṛhya Sūtras* (Gobhila, 3, 4, 28; Āśvalāyana, 3, 4, 1; Śāṅkhāyana, 4, 9,3) Yakṣas are invoked as *bhūtāni*; Kubera with Īśāna, for the husband in the marriage ritual (Pāraskara, I, 8, 2; Śāṅkhāyana, I, 11, 7).

Bharhut inscriptions make all four of the Mahârājas or Regents, and not only Kubera, into Yakkhas.

PAGE 5, note 2, read: The word *Bhūta* might be rendered "those who (were originally men, and) have (now) become (spirits)." Add: Cf. Arbman, E., *Rudra*, Upsala, 1922, pp. 165 ff., where the use of the word is discussed at length.

PAGE 6, line 21, add: Kubera's wife is called Bhadrā, "Lucky" in *Mahābhārata*, I, 199, 6, and Ṛddhi, "Success," *ib.*, XIII, 146, 4, f.; he is also said to be united to Lakṣmī (*ib.*, III, 168, 13, etc.) but she is here to be regarded mainly in a general sense as the goddess of Fortune, who associates herself with all great kings. In the Buddhist legends about Kubera as Pāñcika, his wife (Nandā, Abhirati, Hārītī) has a much more definite character. In the later art the form of Hārītī is closely assimilated to that of Śrī-Lakṣmī. I have mislaid a reference to Kuberā as goddess of a garden.

PAGE 6, paragraph 3, continue: Jātaka No. 281 tells of the great mango tree of Vessavaṇa Mahārāja, which grows on the Golden Mountain in the Himalayas, and is guarded by Kumbhaṇḍa-rakkhasas; and in Jātaka No. 489, where the rope trick is described, the tree magically produced is called "Vessavaṇa's mango." The Indian rope trick is described in detail in early Celtic literature, where it is attributed to Manannan Mac Lir, god of the sea (Standish Hayes O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, London, 1892, p. 321): Cf. Celtic "good folk" and "hidden people" with Indian *puṇyajana* and *guhyaka* designating Yakṣas.

PAGE 6, note 2, add: Statues of Kubera are to be set up in the crypt of a treasury, Kāuṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, II, 4, see Meyer, p. 75.

PAGE 6, note 3, add: The jewel-bearing lotus rhizome of the Bharhut coping relief has its source in the mouth of a kneeling elephant, not in this case a fish-tailed elephant; the idea expressed is very clearly conveyed by a passage in the, of course much later, *Daśakumāracarita* of Dandin, Ch. X, where a girl is compared to a "jeweled vine (*ratana-mañjarīkā*) from the wishing-tree in Paradise (*nandana-kalpa-vṛkṣa*) plucked by the sky elephant (*Airāvata*) and tossed to earth." Nandana, of course, is equally the paradise of Indra and of Kubera (Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 84), though Airāvata (a rain-cloud) is primarily Indra's elephant steed (perhaps once Varuṇa's). See pl. 77, figs. 1-3.

PAGE 7, line 19, add: In the *Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka* Puṇṇaka is Senapati (General) and nephew of Vessavaṇa.

PAGE 7, line 29, after *addition*, add: but the conception of Gaṇeśa in his original capacity of causer of hindrances to worship (*pūjā-vighnakartṛṇām*) occurs frequently.

PAGE 7, end of third paragraph, add: Sir Charles Eliott informs me that in Japanese Buddhist temples where Gaṇeśa is worshipped the offerings made include spirits (*sake*), although as a rule alcohol is strictly forbidden in such places, and this affords further evidence of Gaṇeśa's Yakṣa connections.

In several places there are indications of a connection of the goddess Śrī (Lakṣmī) with Yakṣas, *e. g.*, as wife of Dharma in the Epic, she is the mother of Kāmadeva, and her hand bears the mark of a *makara*, his symbol; in some Chinese Buddhist texts (Peri, *loc. cit.*, p. 39) she is the daughter of Māṇibhadra. In Jātaka No. 392 she is the daughter of Dhataraṭṭha, who is a Yakṣa at Bharhut. See my *Early Indian iconography, II. Srī-Lakṣmī*, in Eastern Art, Part 3, 1929.

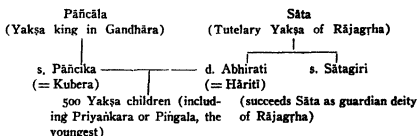
PAGE 7, note 2, add: According to Burgess and Indraji, *Inscriptions from the cave temples of Western India*, 1881, p. 87, there was originally at the end of the verandah of Cave XVII at Ajaṇṭā a painting of a royal figure, with the inscrip-

tion *Māṇibhadra*. Yakṣas play important parts in Dhanavala's *Bhavisatta Kaha* (ed. Jacobi, 1916), where Māṇibhadra is mentioned (p. 13*); and in Haribhadra's *Sanatkumāracarita* (ed. Jacobi, 1921).

PAGE 7, last paragraph, add footnote: In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Tāḍaka, originally a Yakṣiṇī, becomes a Rākṣasī, and this is a great fall. In the *Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā*, 110 the *devatta bhāva* of Yakkhas is contrasted with the *petatta bhāva* of Petas.

PAGE 8, note 1, add: For the cult of Kubera in Java, see Krom, *Archaeological description of Bārābuḍur*, pp. 17, 18, and for Yakṣas generally in Java, see Stutterheim's review of *Yakṣas*, in Djawá, 9ᵉ Jaargang, No. 4 en 5, 1929, pp. 283, 284.

PAGE 9, for the whole of the last paragraph, substitute:

The case of Hāritī or Hārītī is too well known to need a long discussion. The best and fullest account occurs in the *Saṁyuktavastu*, Ch. XXXI (see Peri, N., *Hārītī, la Mère-de-Démons*, B. É. F. E. O., XVII, iii, 1917). We get the following genealogy:

Before her birth as a Yakṣī, Abhirati had been a herdsman's wife in Rājagṛha. Because she had been required to dance at a festival while pregnant, she conceives the desire to avenge herself; and now, despite the protests of Sātagiri, she constantly devours the children of Rājagṛha. The people make offerings to appease her; these consist of food, perfumes, flowers, cleansing and decorating the town, and making music, but matters are not improved. Then the guardian of Rājagṛha makes it generally known by sending dreams that the only help is to be had from the Buddha. The latter hides Abhirati's youngest child under his begging bowl; she is distracted by the loss, and searches in vain. The Buddha points out to her the moral, converts her, restores the child, and promises that offerings of food shall be regularly made to her in the monasteries, of which she becomes the protectress.

Ī Tsing mentions that Hāritī's image used to be painted in Indian monasteries near the refectory door, though this does not seem to have been *de rigeur*. The *Saṁyuktavastu* mentions only paintings of Yakṣas to be thus made. Hāritī is said to have given her children to the Saṁgha; but they had to receive food at other than the regular hours, and even unclean food.

As a popular divinity the converted Hāritī was extensively worshipped as a giver of children; we may say, that having had her complex cured by the great master of psychology, she reverts to the normal. Examples are cited by Peri, *loc. cit.*, pp. 65, 66; and according to M. Foucher's observations (B. É. F. E. O.,

I, p. 342, and *Sur la frontière Indo-Afghane*, pp. 194-197) her cult in this sense still survives amongst the Muhammadans of the North-West.

The monastic offerings seem to have been made originally on an altar set before painted icons of Hāritī and Āṭavaka (Ālavaka) placed within the refectory; later upon an altar out of doors. It is particularly interesting to find, though only from a late Chinese source (Peri, *loc. cit.*, pp. 55, 56) that this external altar was made of stone in the form of a lotus flower, expanded towards the sky, and with its smooth round center serving as a table; because precisely such altars have been found in Ceylon (*Colombo Museum Guide*, Pl. III; here Pl. VI, 2).

It will be observed that in the case of Abhirati, an evil wish conceived when a human being is fulfilled in the person of a malevolent Yakkhinī; exactly parallel to this is the case of the cannibal Yakkhinī of the *Ayoghara Jātaka*, No. 510, where the barren co-wife of the king of Benares, jealous of her fertile sister, prays to be able to devour the latter's children, and when reborn as a Yakkhinī is able to fulfil this desire.

PAGE 9, note 1, add: Haribhadra, II, 8, 2 (Leumann, E., *Die Avaśyaka-Erzählungen*, Leipzig, 1897) tells a story in which a Yakṣa bestows on a human artist the ability to depict the whole of a figure, though only the smallest part of the body may have been actually seen (*ex pede Herculem!*).

Cf. also the story of the production of a simulacrum of the Buddha by Māra at the request of Upagupta, *Divyāvadāna*, LXXVII and *Aśokāvadāna*, VII (see my *Origin of the Buddha image*, p. 42, and Pryzluski, J., *Açokāvadāna*, 1923, p. 361).

PAGE 10, second paragraph, add: Another Assamukhī is represented amongst the rocks of the Inda-sāla guha on the Mathurā lintel, B 208 in the Lucknow Museum, here obviously only as a "part of the scenery."

Cf. the old legends of the mare forms of Saraṇyu and Vāc (Keith, *Rel. and Phil. of the Veda*, pp. 198, 199).

PAGE 10, note 3: in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, 240, 241, Kinnaras haunting the forest are described as horse-faced. Generally speaking, however, both in literature and art, Kinnaras are of the siren type.

PAGE 11, line 4, add fresh paragraph:

The *Milindapañha* (191) has a list of cults, mentioning followers (*gaṇas*) of Maṇibhadda, Puṇṇabhadda, Candima, Surya, Siri-devata, Kali-devata (v. l. Kāli), Siva, and Vasudeva (v. l. Vāsudeva), adding that "the secrets of each of these sects are handed on in the sect itself, and kept hidden from all others." The Siṁhalese commentary calls the followers of these divinities *bhaktas*. In the *Niddesa* (*Culla-Niddesa*, pp. 173, 174) list of theistic cults, Maṇibhadda-deva is mentioned with Puṇṇabhadda-deva, Yakkhas generally, and Mahārājas (Regents); all four of the latter are Yakṣas at Bharhut. Yakṣas are mentioned in lists of deities in the *Maitri Upaniṣad*, I, 4, and vii, 6 and 8. In the *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Ch. 25, there are to be shrines (*koṣṭhaka*) for various deities, including Vaiśravaṇa, within the city (but *koṣṭhaka* in this sense is unparalleled and perhaps granaries for the storage of grain from temple villages is really meant).

PAGE 12, note 2, after Agni, add: as Śiva. There is also a goat-faced form of Skanda, connected with the procreation of children (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 229, 230). For Skanda as a phallic deity, cf. Meyer, J. J., *Sexual life in ancient India*, pp. 560, 561.

PAGE 13, line 17, add new paragraph:

In the Jātakas, the Bodhisattva is very often born as a tree-spirit, who displays characteristic virtues; but the tree-spirit in such cases is always called a *Devatā*, the Buddhist tendency being to restrict the designation Yakkha to demons, although there are many places where Devatā and Yakkha are synonymous, *e. g.*, Jat. No. 347. *Deva* and *Yakkha* are distinguished in Jat. IV, 107: but Sakka (the Bodhisattva) takes the form of a Yakkha and appearing to his former wife teaches her the law. In S. N. 1, p. 54, *yakkha* = *devaputta*.

PAGE 13, note 1, add: In the *Sutasoma Jātaka* (for an illustration see my *Mediaeval Sinhalese art*, figs. 151, 152, here pl. 25, fig. 4), and corresponding passage of the *Dhammapada Atthakathā* (2, 14 f., = Book V, story 1) the non-cannibal character of a tree-spirit is very strongly emphasized; for when a king mistakenly attempts to offer human sacrifices to the tree, the *rukkha-devatā* exerts himself to the utmost to avert the catastrophe. Similarly in Jātaka No. 9. Cf. Sāta's objection to Abhirati's behavior, *supra*, p. 5.

It is also to be observed that the Bodhisattva, whose births are always favorable, is frequently represented in the Jātakas as having been born as a tree-spirit, and then often as behaving with great magnanimity.

PAGE 15, transfer paragraph following line 28 ("In the . . . . exhausted") to page 14, after line 17, adding: We have in Jātaka No. 473, and in the case of Trikoṭṭi-Boyu just cited, specific examples of Yakṣas reborn as men. In fact, the idea of alternate human and spirit birth—the idea, in fact, of *saṁsāra*—seems to be inseparably bound up with the Yakṣa theology.

Insert new paragraphs in place of the one transferred:

In Hsüan Tsang's translation of the *Mahā-vibhāṣa-śāstra* (cited by Peri, in B. E. F. E. O., XVII, iii, p. 32) the Yakṣa Madhusugandha says, "In my former life I was always your friend. Now I am born amongst the divine company of the Four Mahārājas. I live on the gate Jīvaka and protect the people."

In the *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka*, No. 545, the king's mother at the time of his last birth but one previous to the present had been his guardian angel (*ārakkha-devatā*) and now again aids him in the same capacity.

The case of the Yakṣa Sāta, who in the Hāritī legend as related in the *Saṁyuktavastu*, Ch. XXXI (Peri, *loc. cit.*, pp. 3 f.) protected the people of Rājagṛha, and after his death was succeeded by his son Sātagiri in the same benevolent capacity, is especially significant, because the functions involved in protection are given in unusual detail (they are similar to those which might be expected to be fulfilled by Indra himself, or which result from the virtue of a king). Sāta protected Bimbisāra and all his house, and it is by Sāta's grace that rain fell in due season, plants flourished, lakes were full, and there was no famine in the land; he protected, too, the ascetics, Brahmans, the poor, the orphans and the merchants who flocked to the prosperous land of Magadha.

PAGE 15, note 1, fourth line, after -mentary, add: also *Jātakā*, VI, 411; and *Uvāsaga Dasāo*, VII, 187, where the deva is *sa-khinkiṇiyaiṁ*, explained by Hemacandra as meaning "wearing a girdle set with small bells."

PAGE 16, after the last line, fresh paragraph:
We have cited above two particular instances of Yakṣa *dvārapālas* or guardians of gates. And as we know, Yakṣas are constantly represented in this capacity, on either side of the entrance to a shrine. It may be assumed that practically every building had to be protected by a spirit guardian. But accident could not always be relied on, and it is evident that the necessity for providing such guardians underlies an old form of human sacrifice which has survived, at least in tradition, into modern times. That human beings have been sacrificed and laid in the foundations of buildings is well known. It was popularly believed that such sacrifices were made when the Hooghly Bridge was built; and a reviewer of my *Yakṣas* (Modern Review, Nov., 1928) remarks that in Bengālī legends misers are said to entomb little boys alive, and "the boy is presumed to take the form of a Yakṣa—known as a Yakṣa in Bengal—and stand guard over the treasure." Cf. Crooke, W., *Popular religion and folk-lore of northern India*, pp. 237 ff., and Index; and Bates, *Hindī Dictionary, s. v. jak*. An instructive early example is found in Jātaka IV, 246 (No. 481): "A great gate (*dvāra*) is possessed and guarded by great spirits (*devatā*). A Brahman . . . . must be killed, his flesh and blood must be offered as a *bali*, and his body laid beneath, and the gate raised upon it."

PAGE 17, first paragraph, add: In Jātaka No. 398 the Yakkha Aṅgulimāla, originally a tree-dwelling cannibal (it is interesting to observe that the shadow of the tree is the limit of his power), when converted and reformed, is "given a seat" (*nisīdāpetvā*) at the city gate; this most likely implies the establishment of a shrine and statue, and perhaps a daily cult, but might only mean the planting of a tree and setting up of an altar. Cf. *Jātaka* I, 169, where the *devatā* of a banyan tree at the gate of a village receives bloody offerings.

PAGE 17, line 15, add: Quintus Curtius (VIII, 9), speaks of capital punishment inflicted for injury done to a sacred tree.

PAGE 18, after line 1, add: Patañjali, commenting on Pāṇini II, 2, 3, 4, refers to the sounding of musical instruments at gatherings in the temples (*prāsāda*) of Dhanapati (Kubera), (Bala-) Rāma, and Keśava (cited, Bhandarkar, Sir R. G., *Vaiṣṇavism* . . . ., p. 13). It would seem evident that the Besnagar *kalpa-vṛkṣa* (here pl. I), a banyan tree with pots and bags of money, and a lotus and conch exuding coins, at its roots, must have been the capital of the *dhvaja-stambha* of a temple of Kubera.

PAGE 18, line 2 from bottom, for *pediments* read: tympanums.

PAGE 19, note 4, add: The *Āupapātika* or *Ovavāiya Sūtra*, may be dated about the second century B. C. (Barnett, *Hindu gods and heroes*, p. 91).

PAGE 19, note 5: for *court* read *caurt*.

PAGE 20, note 3, add: See also my *Picture showmen*, in Indian Hist. Qtly. V, 1929.

PAGE 22, last paragraph ("Another story . . . . Mahābrahmā"), transfer to top of page 26.

PAGE 23, line 23, delete (*uttarasīsakam*).

PAGE 23, after line 37, add: The prevalence of Yakṣa cults in Magadha is further indicated in Jātaka 307, where the Bodhisattva being born as a *palāsa-rukkha-devatā*, deity of a palāsa-tree, it is remarked "at that time all the inhabitants of Benares were devoted to the worship (*maṅgalikā*) of such devatās, and constantly engaged in religious offerings and the like (*balikaraṇ-ādīsu*)." A similar statement is made in the *Dummedha Jātaka*, No. 50, and here the Bodhisattva seeing a crowd of worshippers with bloody offerings at a Banyan tree, "praying to the *devatā* who had been reborn in that tree to grant them sons and daughters, honor and wealth, according to their hearts desire," himself draws near and behaves as a worshipper (*pūjetvā*), offering perfumes and flowers, lustration (*abhiṣeka*), circumambulates (*padakkhinaṁ katvā*) and so honors the devatā, though actually only with a view to the ultimate substitution of a higher faith for that of the popular tree-cult.

Again, in *Jātaka* No. 347, with reference to the past, we find "at that time men made *bali* offerings to the Devatās. The Bodhisattva forbade the killing of animals for these offerings; then the Yakkhas, losing their *balikamma*, were enraged." As in so many other cases, so here Devatā = Yakkha.

PAGE 24, after first paragraph: The problem of the relation of a tree-spirit to a tree is of some interest. With very rare exceptions it is a spirit in the tree, not the tree itself that wills and acts, as explained in *Milindapañha*, IV, 3, 20: "'the aspen tree conversed with Bhāradvāja.' But that last is said, O king, by a common form of speech. For though a tree, being unconscious, cannot talk, yet the word 'tree' is used as a designation of the dryad who dwells therein, and in that sense 'the tree talks' is a well-known expression." In general, the life of the tree-spirit is independent of that of the tree. Nothing is commoner, when trees are to be cut down, than a request to the tree-spirit to move elsewhere, the request being accompanied by offerings. In the *Māyāmataya* it is said that a branch of the tree should be broken off, laid on the ground, dragged away and placed under another tree; evidently to provide the spirit with a necessary connecting link. Tree spirits, however, in the *Jātakas* and elsewhere are often spoken of as leaving their trees temporarily and appearing elsewhere on various occasions, so that they cannot be regarded as inseparably attached to their homes. On the other hand, in *Jātaka* 398, the domain of a tree-spirit seems to be limited to the area covered by the shadow of the tree. Gifts are placed on trees, or on the altar at the foot of a tree. In consecrating trees or groves, the *adhibasa* (invocation) ceremony is performed on stone platforms below them (*Agni Purāṇa* LXX).

To find a Nāga, instead of a Yakṣa, as a *rukkha-devatā*, as in the *Mahāvaṇija Jātaka*, No. 493, is altogether exceptional.

PAGE 24, after second paragraph, add: Offerings to Yakṣas are generally called *bali*, and although this term is used equally of offerings made to all the gods, and also to the Manes, it is to be understood, when specially called an offering to

All Beings or All Souls (*sarvâtmabhûti*), as in Manu, III, 91, as especially intended for the Yakṣas. In *Mahāvaṁsa*, XXXVI, 82, f., the cannibal Yakkha Ratakkhi is converted, and *bali* offerings are allotted to him at the entrances to villages. *Bhūtayajña* would appear to be the same thing as *bali*.

PAGE 24, note 2, add: Barua's identification of Yakṣa shrines with hero mounds (I. H. Q., II, 1926, p. 22) is similarly mistaken; so too de la Vallée Poussin, in *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, pp. 149, 150.

On Yakṣa caityas see also Chanda, Mem. A. S. I., 30, pp. 3 ff. Cf. also *Atharva Veda*, IX, 1, the word *cāy*.

PAGE 25, line 10, after Piśācas, read: in Jātaka No. 353 the Yakkha of a banyan tree receives bloody offerings.

PAGE 25, line 13, add footnote to Ajaṇṭā: * See Goloubew, Ars Asiatica, X, pp. 19-20.

PAGE 25, after line 30, add: In Haribhadra's *Āvaśyaka-ṭīkā*, II, 8, 2 ff. the Jakkha Surappia (Surapriya) has a temple at Ayodhyā; the image must be repainted annually, and if this is neglected, he inflicts a pestilence on the people.

PAGE 26, story of Buddhi and Siddhi, add note: Cf. *Maṇimekhalai*, Bk. XXII (transl. by S. K. Aiyangar, p. 169).

PAGE 27, line 2, after "Mayaṇa," read: (= Kāmadeva).

PAGE 27, after line 3, fresh paragraph:

In the same book, in the Story of Bambhadatta (Jacobi, p. 12, Meyer, p. 41) a Yakṣa, gratified by a woman's devotion (*bhatti* = *bhakti*) brings about her marriage with king Bambhadatta.

PAGE 27, after second paragraph, add: In Dandin's *Daśakumāracarita* Prince Arthapāla becomes the husband of Tārāvalī, daughter of Māṇibhadra.

PAGE 27, line 29, for "is Vāsudeva," read: "are Śiva and Vāsudeva."

PAGE 27, last line, add footnote to Kings: * All four are called Yakkhas in the Bharhut inscriptions.

PAGE 28, line 3, insert: Mahāvira is called Bhagavat, in the *Āupapātika Sūtra*, *passim*.

PAGE 30, note 1, add: On Vajrapāṇi see also Spooner, E. C., *The Fravashi of Gautama*, J. R. A. S., 1916. But Mrs. Spooner is quite wrong in thinking that "the conception of the guardian angel is un-Indian." Not to mention other examples we have the very word, *ārakkha-devatā* in Jātaka, V, 429 and VI, 281; in the former case a father, in the latter a mother, reborn in the spirit world, *i. e.*, as a Yakṣa or Yakṣī, protects a child still living. An identification of Vajrapāṇi with the Buddha's "external soul" is quite impossible.

PAGE 30, the note beginning "Waddell" should be numbered "4" with reference to "Lag-na-rdo-rje."

PAGE 31, note 1, add: Excellent representations of Vajrapāṇi attendant on Buddha will be found on the large slab from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, here plate 3, and on a slab illustrating the Marriage of Nanda, of the same Amarāvatī schools, both now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

PAGE 31, note 2, add: A more nearly complete Kuṣāna statue of Vajrapāṇi from Mathurā is illustrated in Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Reports, III, pl. XI, d.

PAGE 32, line 6. I use the designation Vṛkṣakā (= Vṛddhikā, Vārkṣī), of epic origin (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 7) as most literally descriptive, and at the same time exactly equivalent to dryad. But Dr. Vogel[1] has recently shown that the word *śālabhañjikā*, "she who plucks *śāla* flowers" was, or at least became, a technical term denoting representations of female types standing under trees, and was also the name of a *śāla*-plucking festival in which women climbed the trees and plucked the flowers. Of course, it does not follow that the *śālabhañjikā* in art always or even often stands for a human figure. There is every reason to suppose, that the Vṛkṣakā is usually a Yakkhinī; but *Mahabhārata*, III, 265, 1-3a, "Who art thou that, bending down the branch of the kadamba tree, shinest lonely in the hermitage, sparkling like a flame of fire at night, shaken by the breeze, oh thou of fair brows? Exceeding fair art thou, yet fearest naught here in the forest. Art thou a Devatā, a Yakṣī, a Dānavī, an Apsaras, or a fair Daitya girl, or a lovely maiden of the Nāga king, or a Night-wanderer (Rākṣasī) in the wood" shows that the type could be identified in nany ways.

Evidently *Yakṣas*, Pl. 21, fig. 6, previously identified only as a scene from the Buddha's life illustrates the story of the Śālabhañjikā festival at Śrāvastī, Story No. 53 of the *Avadāna Śataka* (Feer, p. 207, also cited by Vogel; and my *Notes sur la sculpture bouddhique*, Rev. des Arts Asiatiques, V, 1928).

PAGE 32, line 15, after "charm" add: cf. "the girdle of Aditi," IV. 1, 5.

PAGE 32, line 16, add: or fish-tailed elephants or horses; the significance of these riverine vehicles will be discussed below, p. 47 f.

PAGE 32, after line 22, add: A story is told in the *Mahābhārata* of a mother and daughter who embrace two trees, and thus become the mothers of Viśvamitra and Jamadagni (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 183). On trees granting offspring to women see also Bloch, Th., *Notes on Bōdhgayā*, A. S. I., A. R., 1908-09, p. 142; Meyer, J. J., *Sexual life in ancient India*, pp. 156-8; and p. 12 below.

In the *Hatthipāla Jātaka*, No. 509, a poor woman has seven sons, and asked by whom she had them, she replies, pointing to the banyan tree by the city gate, "I offered prayer to the deity who inhabits this tree, and he answered me by giving these boys." The translations err in making the Rukkhadevatā feminine.

In the *Dummedha Jātaka*, No. 50, people worship the Devatā of a banyan tree (? Kubera) for "sons and daughters, honor and wealth."

In Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, 134, Queen Vilāsavatī, desiring a child, performs a variety of ceremonies, amongst others "with a sunwise turn, she worshipped the pippala and other trees to which honour was wont to be shown."

---

[1] *The woman and tree, or śālabhañjikā, in Indian literature and art*, Acta Orientalia, VII, 1928.

In the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Ch. CV, offerings of wine, flesh, and other dainties are to be made to the Yakṣas on the wedding day. The bride here says to her husband, "Before I married you, I prayed to the Yakṣas to enable me to obtain you. . . . ."

PAGE 32, line 32, after "*embrace*," add: *Atharva Veda*, V, 5, 3 "Tree after tree thou climbest, like a lustful girl"; and *Jātaka*, V. 215, "When will Ṭarita's daughter . . . . cling to me, e'en as a forest-creeper to some forest-tree?"

PAGE 33, note 1, third paragraph, add: Cf. *upaddha sarīram*, describing the manifestation of a *devatā* living in a royal umbrella (*Jātaka*, VI, 376).

PAGE 37, note 1, add: Brown, W. N., *The Indian and Christian miracles of walking on the water*, Chicago, 1928.

PAGE 38, line 8, image of "Manasā Devī": Mr. Canda (A. S. I., A. R., 1922-23, p. 165) reads the inscription as "(This image of the) Yakṣī Lāyāva has been caused to be made for the sons of Sā, and made by Nāka, pupil of Kunika"; in this case Kunika becomes the name of a sculptor, not of a Yakṣa.

PAGE 41, description of plate 16, 2: more probably Agni, cf. similar figure with ram vehicle on a pilaster of the Rāj Rāni temple, Bhuvaneśvara.

PAGE 42, plate 21, fig. 3. Now in the University Museum, Pennsylvania.

PAGE 42, plate 21, fig. 6, read: The Śālabhañjikā festival at Śrâvastī, illustrating the *Avadāna Śataka*, Story No. 53; see Feer, L., *Avadānaçatakā*, p. 207, and my *Notes sur la sculpture bouddhique*, Rev. des Arts Asiatiques, V, 1928. In Pañcasikha's song in the *Sakka-pañha Suttanta* (DN., II, 267 = *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, 302) we have an allusion to the worship of the *sāl* tree in full blossom "for offspring." For the fertility significance and pre-Buddhist character of this festival see also J. B. O. R. S., XIV, p. 69. Vogel (*The Woman and Tree or śālabhañjikā in Indian literature and art*, Acta Orientalia, VII, 1929) has shown that the architectural term *śālabhañjikā*, applicable to "woman and tree" figures (e. gt. *Yakṣas*, I, Pl. 20, 1) is derived from the name of this festival.

PAGE 42, plate 22, fig. 1, for *vrksakā* read *vṛkṣakā*.

PAGE 42, description of pl. 22, 4, add: Height 3′ 2½″. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum, Mathurā*, p. 90.

PAGE 43, Appendix, V, add: In Haribhadra's *Sanatkumāracarita*, 514, *Mayaṇa's āyayaṇa* is likewise in a grove. In the *Daśakumāracarita*, Ch. V, the maidens of Avantī worship (*arcayanti*) Manobhava (= Mayaṇa, Kāmadeva), laying their offerings of perfumes, flowers, turmeric, and Chinese silk on the level sand (*saikata-tale*) in the cool shade of a mango-tree.

2. THE WATER COSMOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

In *Yakṣas*, I, and the addenda prefixed to the present discussion, there has been accumulated a mass of material sufficient to show the antiquity and popularity of the Yakṣa cults in India, and to establish the general character of the Yakṣa type, which includes universal deities like Kubera, Kāmadeva, and Śrī, tutelary deities of kingdoms or clans, such as Sātagiri and Śākya-vardhana, and also more localised and generally unnamed male tree spirits and dryads whose power does not extend beyond the shadow of the tree which is their abode. We have recognized that all these Yakṣas, great or small, are vegetation spirits directly controlling, and bestowing upon their *bhaktas*, fertility and wealth, or to use a single word, abundance.

What we have not yet emphasized, though it has been indicated, is the intimate connection of the Yakṣas with the waters. For example, Kubera's inexhaustible treasuries are a lotus and a conch, innumerable Yakṣīs have a *makara* or other fish-tailed animal as their vehicle, Kāmadeva the *makara* as his cognizance, the greater tutelary Yakṣas control the rains essential to prosperity, and in the earliest mythology "that germ which the waters held first and in which all the gods exist" rose like a tree "from the navel of the unborn," who in the oldest passage is Varuṇa and in the *Atharva-Veda* is called a Yakṣa; moreover, in the "decorative" art,[1] vegetation is represented indifferently as springing either (1) from the mouth or navel of a Yakṣa, or (2) from the open jaws of a *makara* or other fish-tailed animal, or (3) from a "brimming vessel," or (4) from a conch, but never directly from any symbol representing the earth.

Yakṣas, then, are the Lords of Life, comparable to the Tuatha de Danann of Irish fairy mythology; they are also deities closely connected with the waters, though their habitat is terrestrial. These two

[1] Indian "decorative art" is not like modern ornament a kind of upholstery, but explicitly significant: as remarked by Kramrisch (*Grundzüge der indischen Kunst*, p. 83, "Das (indische) Muster ist so weit vom Ornament entfernt wie der Landschaft von naturalistischer Beschreibung." Even if the significance is partially forgotten in later periods, it is never wholly lost. Henceforward we shall usually speak of the decorative art by the names of its chief component parts, viz. the Animal Style, the Plant Style, and the Geometric Style. Each of these styles is a definite iconography, or at least tends to be recognizable as such to the extent that our knowledge advances.

essentials of their nature are inseparably connected. *A priori,* it might have been supposed that the Nāgas, who are water deities, and who control the activity of the waters, should have been the gods of abundance; but they are not, as the Yakṣas are, "worshipped by those desiring children." The fact is, that the Yakṣas control, not so much the waters as mere waters, but that essence (*rasa*) in the waters which is one with the sap in trees, with the *amṛta* or elixir of the Devas, especially Agni, with the Soma, and with the seed in living beings.

The Yakṣa is by far a greater, more mysterious, and one may add potentially a spiritual power far more significant than the Nāga or dragon.[1] It is the object of the present work to discover (in the original meaning of the word) the importance of the Yakṣas in what has often been vaguely referred to as a Life Cult, to suggest that this life cult, with which is also connected the worship of the Great Mother, may have been the primitive religion of India, and to show that the plant style is actually nothing more nor less than the iconography of the Water Cosmology.

The term "Water Cosmology" was first, I think, employed by Hume, in the Introduction to his *Thirteen principal Upanishads,* pp. 10-14, with reference to such passages as *Bṛhadāraṇyaka,* 5, 5, "in the beginning this world was just water," and 3, 6, 1, "all this world is woven, warp and woof, on water," and *Kāuṣītaki,* 1, 7, where Brahman declares "the waters, verily, indeed, are my world."

A belief in the origin of life in the waters was common to many ancient cultures, and must have arisen very naturally in the case of peoples, like those of the Nile, the Euphrates, or the Indus Valley, amongst whom water, in the form either of seasonal rains or of ever-flowing rivers was the most obvious prerequisite of vegetative increase; nor can the belief be regarded as in any way unreasonable. Taken in a purely physical sense, it may indeed be called a fair anticipation of modern scientific ideas.[2] In the Vedas, the belief appears

[1] Both are guardians of rain and wealth: but there seems to be indicated an original differentiation in this sense, that the Yakṣas are bestowing, the Nāgas withholding deities—perhaps a primitive dualism of good and evil.

[2] A. Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the psychology of sex,* Vol. VII, Ch. VII, "Undinism." The *rasa* theory, one might say, presents a kind of analogy to our views about vitamines. Havelock Ellis, *ib.,* 386, speaks of a "premonition of the modern scientific view of the pelagic origin of life". While there is much that is suggestive in the whole chapter on "Undinism", it may be remarked that scarcely anything in the Indian tradition seems to imply a connection of the cult of the waters and the vesical stream; while the origin of fountains, in the Mesopotamian tradition seems to be connected only with the symbol of the flowing vase (see Heuzy, *Origines orientales de l'art,* pp. 170, 171) but also Albright, *Some cruces in the Langdon Epic,* J. A. O. S., 39, 1919, esp. p. 70. Cf. Bolton,

in the form of an old popular theory, for which are substituted the successively more philosophical concepts of a Space Cosmology, of a belief in an origin of the world in Non-being, in an origin of the world from Being, and finally in the conception of Brahman (the Absolute) as world-ground. The Water Cosmology, it is true, persists side by side with, and linked with these deeper views, even in post-Vedic literature; but it is not typically a creation of the Vedas, and seems to belong to an even older stratum of ideas than that which is developed in the Vedas. If the operations of the powers of vegetative increase are not fully explained in the Vedas, it is because they belong to an older, pagan, fairy mythology, and the Vedas themselves seek to attain their ends rather by sacrifices (*yajña*) to celestial powers than by the worship (*pūjā*) of localised personal and terrestrial deities or any attempt to stimulate their activity by suggestive representations in art.[1] The Water Cosmology conceives of certain powers of abundance who direct, or at least symbolise or represent the operations of life as it wells upward from its source in the waters, and of a supreme deity, Varuṇa; but in itself, it can scarcely be regarded as a theology, for it does not originally conceive of a personal consciousness underlying the creation of the world. As remarked by Rönnow[2] " Der primitive Mensch denkt sich überhaupt keine konstante Personification des Wassers; es ist an und für sich heilig und von *mana* erfüllt " and precisely for this reason " jedoch bald dieses, bald jenes Tier od. dgl. ein Repräsentant der dem Wasser innewohnenden Kraft werden kann." Thus a tendency to use abstract, non-anthropomorphic symbolism, which has so often been regarded as of distinctively northern, Aryan, or nomad origin, really inheres in the most ancient modes of thought.

F. E., *Hydro-psychoses*, Am. Journ. Psychology, Jan. 1889. But a belief, erotically tinged, that water was the source of all things, has been at one time or another current in all the great civilisations, and traces of such a belief persist even in modern European folklore. " The image of Aphrodite rising from the sea is not without scientific justification " (Donnan, in Ann. Rep. Smithsonian Institution, 1929, p. 318).

[1] Or only in such cases as that of the pot dance of the maidens round the Mārjālīya fire, after the horse sacrifice, for which an indigenous origin is plausible.

Localised deities would not be expected amongst a nomad people, cf. Keith, *Religion and philosophy of the Veda*, p. 184, note 4. Further the natural emphasis of nomadic people is laid on herds of cattle and on horses; that of settled agricultural communities, probably already practicing irrigation long before the advent of the Aryans, upon water and plants.

[2] *Trita Āptya*, 1927, p. 6.

There is nothing in this tendency contradictory to the use of the human form, which in the case of the feminine powers of fertility and abundance can be traced far back into prehistoric times. These powers, particularly the nude goddess, the Great Mother, who may be Aditi, and Śrī, who is so very closely connected with the Waters, stand in close relation to the Water Cosmology, and at the same time are represented in the aspect of women. But no stylistic distinction can be made as between this use of the human form, and the use of plant or animal forms; the treatment is equally abstract and symbolic in both cases—there is no intention to reproduce natural appearances. A stylistic distinction, perhaps referable to diversity of ethnic preoccupation, may indeed be drawn between an expressive and an illusionistic art. But Indian art is never illusionistic; it constitutes, in fact, a unity, and all the elements of this unity are congruous and coeval. Even to attempt to distinguish Aryan and Dravidian tendencies may represent in part a false issue.

That detailed picture of the fairy powers at their procreative work, and of their hierarchy, culminating in the grandiose conception of the Regents of the Four Quarters, which the Vedas fail to give us, is to be found in the explicit formulae of the Plant Style, and incidentally, we may add, in Buddhist and Jāina literature, which, insofar as it refers to non-Buddhist beliefs at all, tells us much more about popular Indian religion than it does about the religion of the Brahmanical philosophers. At the same time, even the Vedic picture of the Water Cosmology and of the plants—" Plants, O ye mothers, I hail ye as goddesses," says the *Yajur Veda* (IV, 2, 6)—is more vivid and detailed than we might have expected.

We are then in possession of two distinct sources, each equally permeated through and through by the concepts of the Water Cosmology. One of these is the Vedas; the other the Plant Style in the decorative art of the earliest monuments, and its later and even modern survivals. These two sources are in complete accord. Hitherto, a concentration of attention upon the sectarian, theistic art of India (Vaiṣṇava, Bāuddha, etc.) and upon stylistic development in connection with the cult image only, has obscured the fact that quantitatively speaking, Indian art is to a greater extent than has been supposed, an illustration of Vedic ideas. We have already seen, for example, that in the representation of the *abhiṣeka* of Śrī the elements of the dogmatic symbolism are far more ancient than the first extant representations.[1] So now it will be found that the special formulae

[1] See my *Early Indian iconography, II, Srī-Lakṣmī*, in Eastern Art, I, 1928, and *Appendix, ch. II*, 1929.

of the Plant Style are only explicable in the light of the innumerable passages in Vedic literature in which the Water Cosmology is referred to. It follows, of course, that the Plant Style did not come into being for the first time about 200 B. C.; but that the Śuṅga reliefs are simply the oldest monuments we possess of what is really a very ancient style. This is not surprising in itself; it is merely a special case of the general argument for the long pre-Maurya antiquity of the earliest Indian animal, plant, geometric, and architectural formulae as met with in Maurya, Śuṅga, and later reliefs.

Iranian cosmology, preserved in the *Zendavesta*, presents us with a body of belief and a type of gods and genii closely related to those of the Water Cosmology in India. Thus Ahura Mazda corresponds to Varuṇa; Anāhita and Ashi, his daughters, present a close analogy with Śrī-Lakṣmī; the Amesha Spentas, especially Haurvatāt and Ameretāt, " Health " and " Immortality," genii of plants and waters, have much in common with the Yakṣas, and so in another way have the Fravashis, as " self-like genii " and guardian angels; Apām Napāṭ = Apām Napāt; *haoma = soma; yasna = yajña*. It is immaterial for the moment that the ranks of Asura and Deva in Persia and India were reversed. The change took place in India, and Persia preserved what can only be inferred in India from the oldest parts of the Vedas and from survivals in popular belief and art. Actually the *Zendavesta* gives us a better picture of Varuṇa than can be found in the Vedas themselves.[1]

But the cosmology presided over by Ahura Mazda is no more an entirely new creation of the Zend than the Water Cosmology is an invention of the Vedas. To complete the picture, indeed, we should have to go farther back, to parallels such as that of Ishtar with Aditi, and of Sumerian *apsu* (the underworld sea of sweet water) with Sanskrit *āpaḥ*. As remarked by Masson-Oursel and demonstrated by recent excavation in the Panjab, " la solidarité indoiranienne, loin de se borner à une homogénéité aryenne préhistorique, est en fait quasi permanent à travers l'histoire, ... les rapports entre la Mésopotamie et le Pendjab ou la Sérinde ont du être fréquents depuis l'antiquité suméro-dravidienne, et durant la conquête, jamais achevée de l'Inde par les Aryas." [2]

[1] Cf. Kretschmer, P., *Varuṇa und die Urgeschichte der Inder*, Wiener Zeitschrift für den Kunde des Morgenländes, XXXIII, 1926.

[2] Masson-Oursel, reviewing Abeg, E., *Der Messiahglaube in Indien und Iran* . . . . , in Journal Asiatique, CCXIII, 1928, p. 189.

Cf. the remark by Przyluski, J., *La ville du Cakravartin: influences babyloniennes sur la civilisation de l'Inde*, Rocznik Orjentalistyczny, V, 1927, p. 21,

It may be added that it is not without significance that the nearest analogies of Indian Śuṅga decorative art and architecture are not with contemporary Persian, but with Babylonian and other western Asiatic, including Hittite, particularly from about the eighth century B. C. backwards. If borrowing in the Maurya or Śuṅga period is assumed, we should also have to postulate a selective archaism! Then, too, of the most distinctive water-symbols, lotus, conch, *makara,* and inexhaustible vessel, the first three can only have become known to Aryans after their arrival in India while the last is a typically Babylonian as well as Indian conception. The elephant, a cloud and therefore water symbol in connection with Indra and Śrī is again necessarily of purely native origin; the idea of guardian deities of the quarters is Babylonian as well as Indian.[1]

Thus Indo-Iranian, and likewise Indo-European, cannot be regarded, as they are commonly regarded, as altogether or even mainly synonymous with Indo-Aryan and Indo-Germanic. Indian and European paganism, Life and Vegetation cults and the Fairy Mythology, have much in common that goes back to a late neolithic period. Indo-European would have had a meaning before the Greeks invaded Greece. A culture such as we might expect to have arisen in the later stone age and amongst permanently settled agricultural communities, and already embodying all the essential elements of civilization, extended from northern India to Egypt and the Mediterranean as early as the third or fourth millenium B. C. Strzygowski's " Mazdean landscape " is probably Aryan only by inheritance.

" les notions babyloniennes permettent d'interpreter, d'une façon cohérente, les faits indiens." Cf. Hertz, A., *Die Kultur um den Persischen Golf und ihre Ausbreitung,* Leipzig, 1930; also, though to be read with caution, Hewitt, " It is in India that we find the original form of the religion which preceded that of the Semite-Accads in Assyria " (*Early history of northern India,* J. R. A. S., 1889, 1890.)

[1] For the cloud and mountain symbols see my *A royal gesture,* in the K. Bat. Genootschap Feestbundel, 1929, pt. I, and *Notes on Indian coins and symbols,* Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, N. F., IV, 1928. In architecture, compare the Indian volute capitals and pyramidal battlement forms with the similar forms at Khorsābād (palace of Sargon); the early Indian stūpa with Phoenician and Chaldean tombs. Similarly in the case of the peculiar motifs of the Animal Style, particularly the designs of two or more animals with a single head common to all. Recent discoveries in the Indus Valley, proving at least a trade relationship between Indian and Mesopotamian centers in the third millenium B. C., point in the same direction. The early cult of a nude goddess, common to ancient India and Western Asia may be instanced (see my *Archaic Indian terracottas,* in Ipek, 1928). For the Hittite " Śiva " see Garstang, *The Hittite Empire,* 1930, p. 205, and cf. Ipek, 1930, pp. 53, 54. Cf. also, below p. 24, note 2, and p. 32.

These matters are here touched upon, not because it is the primary purpose of this work to prove the pre-Aryan origins of the Water Cosmology, but to make it quite clear that in using Vedic sources I am not asserting that its origins are in fact Aryan. Henceforth, the Vedic material will be drawn upon without regard to its mixed origins; and it will be endeavored to show merely that a great part of later Indian art can only be understood in the light of ideas that are put forward more clearly and more constantly in the Vedas than anywhere else—in other words, that the Plant Style is a survival of Vedic art, using the designation here rather in a secular than an ethnic sense.

One further point is of considerable interest. In Semitic and European conceptions of the Water of Life[1] the draught is conceived of as bestowing immortality forever. In India we meet with the more sober conception of repeated rejuvenation; and this is equally true, whether we take the case of the gods whose life is renewed by repeated draughts of *soma*, or that of human beings magically restored to life or rejuvenated by the good offices of Indra or the Aśvins. All the life charms of the *Atharva Veda* are directed to restoration to health, or to longer or fuller life, never to immortality in a literal sense. And while in early India, and probably in a remoter past, all conceptions of well-being were thus connected with life on earth, and its perpetuation in offspring, the later development of philosophy altogether precluded the possibility of the development of any theory of personal immortality, inasmuch as it was clearly realized that whatever comes into being must again disintegrate, and that only that can never die which has never come to birth.

1. THE WATER COSMOLOGY IN THE LITERATURE

In Kaḍavuḷ Māmunivar's *Tiruvātāvurār Purāṇa*, Śiva's immanent energy is compared to the heat latent in firewood; in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, vii, 8 and xv, 13, Krishna says of himself "I am the vital essence (*rasa*) in the waters," and "It is I that as *soma*, very self of *rasa*, nourish all plants"; in the *Lalita Vistara*, vii, 91, we find "with the Water of Life (*amṛta*) shalt thou heal the suffering due to the corruption of our mortal nature." Here in three of the later sectarian systems we find employed the language of an older mode of thought, adapted to theological or edifying purposes. We have al-

[1] Hopkins, E. W., *The Fountain of Youth*, J. A. O. S., XXVI, pp. 67 *seq.*; cf. Arbman, F., *Tod und Unsterblichkeit im vedischer Glauben*, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XXV, XXVI and Wensinck, A. J., *The ocean in the literature of the western Semites*, 1918, pp. 56 ff.

ready cited pertinent passages from the Upaniṣads; still older texts abound in the ideology of the Water Cosmology, and the best conception of this ideology will be derived from the quotation of a series of typical passages, mainly from the *Yajur Veda*[1] (YV) and the *Atharva Veda* (AV.). Thus: "Those of which in the sky the gods make their food . . . . , those that inundate the earth with their *rasa*, the pure ones; may these waters be gentle and kindly to us" (YV., V, 6, 1).

"The plants born three generations before the gods . . . . The plants whose king is Soma, impel us to long life. Plants, O ye mothers, I hail you, O goddesses. . . . . The fruitful, the fruitless, the flowering, the flowerless, impelled by Bṛhaspati, may they free us from harm. . . . . Falling from the sky, the plants said 'He whom we reach while in life, shall not come to hurt.' . . . . Food and strength do I take thence from the abode of holy order,[2] from the birthplace of immortality. May it enter into us, in cattle and in plants; I abandon decline, lack of food, and ill-health" (YV., IV, 2, 6 and 7).

"Let flow the divine waters, the honey-sweet, for health, for progeny!" (ŚBr., VI, 4, 3.)

"Let the heavenly waters, rich in milk (*pāyas*) flow propitious upon thee; propitious to thee be the herbs" (AV., VIII, 2, 14, 15).

"Water, lightning, clouds, rain, let the liberal ones favor you. Anoint the earth, O Parjanya, with thy milk; by thee poured out, let abundant rain come" (AV., IV, 5, 6 and 9).

"The waters divine do thou pour full of sweetness to avert diseases from men, from their place let arise plants with fair leaves" (YV., IV, 1, 2).

"The foetus of the waters and the plants is cattle. . . . . 'For the waters thee, for the plants I take,' therefore from the waters plants spring. . . . . 'For the plants thee, for offspring I take, therefore the food of man is plants' . . . . therefore through Prajāpati offspring are born" (YV., III, 3, 5, 6). "The plants are connected with Mitra, the waters with Varuṇa; on the sap of the waters and of the plants do we live" (YV., II, 1, 9).

In connection with the first feeding of a child with solid food, we find: "I give thee to eat the essence of water and of the plants" (*Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhya Sūtra*, II, 1, 5).

The waters used in royal consecration: "Ye . . . . are the sap of the waters, of the plants . . . . the givers of the kingdom . . . . winning great radiance for the Kṣatriya. . . . . With the glory of

[1] I. e., *Tāittirīya Saṁhitā* of the Black Yajur Veda.

[2] *Ṛtasya:* the reference can only be to the kingdom of Varuṇa, who is essentially the "Lord of *ṛta*."

Soma I besprinkle thee (O king) . . . . to the son of the waters, hail!" (YV., I, 8, 11, 12). Likewise "The waters of heaven that revel with milk, in the atmosphere and also on the earth—with the splendor of all those waters do I pour (*abhi-sic*) upon thee" (AV., IV, 7, 5).

"From rain originate virility, sap, well-being" (ŚB., I, 8, 3, 15).

Soma: "The *soma* . . . . indeed approaches the worshipper in the form of Varuṇa" (YV., VI, 1, 11).

Soma in Vedic texts is often identified with the Moon, and like Soma, the Moon is often called the Lord of plants (cf. S. B. E., I, p. 286, note 2).

The *soma* of Tvaṣṭṛ obtained by Indra, is also called *madhu*, or mead; its further identity with *rasa*, etc., is shown in the prayer "That seminal fluid of ours, wondrous, abundant, may Tvaṣṭṛ release, as increase of wealth with good heroes, as offspring to us. O trees, let free . . . ." There are in fact many texts identifying the *soma* with the essence in the waters, sap in trees, and seed in man and animals. Thus:

"From trees is strength gathered; the might of the waters surrounded by kine" (YV., IV, 6, 7): "Of the waters the first-born *rasa*, likewise of the forest trees; also Soma's brother art thou; also virility of the stag art thou" ((AV., IV, 4, 1, 5): "They call Soma the seed of the strong horse" (YV., VII, 4, 19): "I ask the seed of the male horse;[1] I ask the navel of all existence . . . . this *soma* is the seed of the male horse; this sacrifice is the navel of all existence" (AV., IX, 10, 13, 14; YV., VII, 4, 18).

In AV., XIX, 31, 12, an amulet of *udumbara* wood is called virile (*vṛṣan*); *ib.*, XIX, 34, 8, the virtue of the forest tree (*vanaspati*) *jāngida* is called its virility (*vīrya*), and this was bestowed on it by Indra of old; *ib.*, I, 35, 3, we have "the waters' brilliancy, light, force, and strength, also the *vīrya* of the forest trees." According to *Mahābhārata*, I, 18, the *amṛta* in the cosmic sea is derived from the sap of trees originally growing on Mt. Mandara, admingled with the waters in the process of churning. In the *Mahābhārata* a cycle is suggested; we are told that a being falling from heaven to take new birth

[1] This is in connection with the ritual with the *mahiṣī* in the Aśvamedha, or horse sacrifice, the main purpose of which is to promote fertility. The sacrifice is to Prajāpati, "the progenitor," but was probably originally to Varuṇa (Dumont, *Aśvamedha*, p. xii; Eggeling in S. B. E., XLIV, pp. xix-xx; Johannsen, *Ueber die altindische Göttin Dhiṣānā* . . . . , 1917, p. 132). For a cosmic interpretation of the Aśvamedha see the early part of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.

becomes a subtle essence in the waters, and this water becomes semen;[1] thence entering the womb it develops into visible life like fruit from flower; entering into trees, plants, air, earth, space, the same watery seed of life assumes the forms of quadrupeds and bipeds, and this is true for every visible creature. Cf. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, I, 1, 2, " The essence (*rasa*) of all beings is the earth, the essence of the earth is water, etc."

Soma is in the milk of cows, for by eating and drinking the plants and waters they collect it (ŚBr., I, 6, 4, 4, 6). Similarly man " Having collected that (Soma or moon) from the waters and plants, he causes them to be born from the oblations " (ŚBr., II, 4, 4, 20).

The following is from the Hymn to the Honey-whip (AV., IX, I), recited when mixing *soma* with milk in the Agniṣṭoma rite: " Great, all-formed, the milk of it; also they call thee (Agni) the seed of ocean . . . breath of creatures, navel of immortality (*amṛta*). . . . Who knows that, who understands that which is the inexhaustible *soma*-holding vessel which is the heart of it? . . . its two unexhausted, thousand-streaming breasts, they milk out refreshment. . . . What honey on hills, on mountains, what in kine, in horses, in liquor (*sura*) as poured out, what honey is there, be that in me! " The honey-whip (*madhukaśa*) seems to be the lightning (Agni) that brings down the rains (cf. Indra's *vajra*); it is also personified as a goddess of abundance, presumably Aditi, since she is called " the mother of the Ādityas, the navel of *amṛta*." As to the Aśvins, some scholars regard them as Indo-Aryan, analogues of the Greek Dioskuroi, others as succouring deities of purely Indian origin: in *Mahābhārata*, I, 66, 40, the Aśvins, plants and animals, are all called Guhyakas, and their chief is Kubera, which would make the Aśvins out to be Yakṣas.

" In the sea is thy heart, within the waters; let the plants and the waters enter thee. . . . . I have penetrated to the waters, we are united with the *rasa* " (YV., I, 4, 45).

" O plants, do ye accept Agni here . . . . may he smite away from us misfortune. O plants, do ye rejoice in him, O ye that are rich in flowers, and have fair berries; this germ of yours . . . . hath sat him in his ancient seat. . . . . Ye waters are healing, further us to strength, to see great joy (=RV., X, 9, 1, 3). The most auspicious *rasa* that is yours, accord to us here, like eager mothers " (YV., IV, 1, 5).

" In the waters, O Agni is thy seat, thou enterest the plants " (YV., IV, 2, 3).

[1] Cf. *Aitareya Upaniṣad*, I, 2, 3, " the waters became semen, and entered the virile member."

When the clay for the Fire-pan is prepared: "Thou (earth) art the back of the waters, expansive, wide, about to bear Agni"; and again when the Fire Altar is prepared, the horse is led forward, and the lotus leaf laid on its footprint: "Thou (earth) art the back of the waters, the birthplace of Agni, the ocean swelling on either side; growing to might as the lotus flower, do thou extend in width with the measure of heaven" (YV., IV, 1, 3, and IV, 2, 8). Then when the gold disk (of the sun, the form of Agni in the sky) is placed on a lotus leaf[1] on the altar, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 4, 1, 8, explains "The lotus means the waters, and this earth is a leaf thereof; even as the lotus leaf here lies spread on the waters, so this earth lies spread on the waters," and *ib.*, X, 5, 2, 8, "the lotus leaf is water." In the *Jāiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* I ,10, 2, the water cosmology is combined with the conception of the Absolute as world ground, thus "In it (the *oṁ*) the waters are established, in the waters the earth, in the earth these worlds."

Closely connected with the Water Cosmology and with Yakṣas is the idea of the productive pair, *mithuna;* the prominence of such procreative pairs in later art has been discussed by Gangoly,[2] while in the earlier art such pairs are constantly recognizable as a Yakṣa and Yakṣī, and it may be remarked that the formula appears very commonly in Śuṅga terracottas. The word *mithuna* is constantly used in connection with ritual coitus, *e. g.*, that of the *mahiṣī* and the sacrificial horse (ŚBr., XIII, 5, 2, 2) and in connection with the Mahāvrata festival, the spring solstice, when the strengthening of the sun must have been the object in view (Āit. Ār., V, 1, 5).[3] These facts suggest the true explanation of the abundant representation of erotic pairs on the Sun temple at Koṇārak.

The following passages are significant: "*Mithuna* means a productive couple" (ŚBr., X, 5, 2, 8); "May I become born again, like kine; may I be glorious like a *mithuna;* mine be the *rasa* in the waters, and the forms of the plants (*oṣadhaya rūpaḥ*) (Āit. Ār., V, 1, 1); "From Prajāpati, when dismembered, couples (*mithunāni*) went forth . . . . birth originates from a *mithuna*" (ŚBr., IX, 4, 1, 2-5).

---

[1] Cf. ŚBr., VII, 5, 1, 11, and VIII, 3, 2, 5, where *avakā* plants (regarded by Weber, *Indische Studien*, XIII, 205, as lotuses) are employed in analogous fashion and said to mean water. Similarly in YV., V, 4, 2.

[2] *The mithuna in Indian art*, Rūpam, 22-23, 1927. See below, p. 33.

[3] For further references see Johannsen, *Ueber die altindische Göttin Dhiśanā*, p. 38, note 1 and p. 45.

The navel: throughout the Vedas we meet with the phrase 'navel of immortality (*amṛta*)" in varied applications, of which several instances have been cited. The significance of the navel as a seat of the life-force is more precisely set forth in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V, 7, 1, 9, where the sacrificer hangs a golden sun-disk around his neck so that it rests upon his navel, and it is explained "Why over the navel? (Because) the navel is the seed, the power of procreation, and the gold plate represents vital energy and vigor"; and in the *Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhya Sūtra*, I, 6, 24, 1, "the navel is the center of the life-breaths (*prāṇāh*)."[1]

In the Paurāṇik conception of the birth of Brahmā, the creator is *abjaja*, lotus-born from the lotus that springs from Viṣṇu's navel, said to represent the center of energy of the universe, while the lotus is the material aspect of evolution, the petals its consecutive forms. (*Agni Purāṇa*, XLIX). Viṣṇu, as Śayana-mūrti, here reclines upon the waters; the great name Nārāyaṇa is said to mean "moving on the waters"; cf. Kubera's epithet Naravāhana, *nara* supposedly referring not to men (as later understood), but to water spirits, Gandharvas. That an expanded lotus represents the manifested universe (*prapañca*) is a commonplace of medieval symbolism.

Although there does not seem to exist any representation of the birth of Brahmā in sculpture dating before the sixth century A. D., the event is explicitly described in the *Mahābhārata* (III, 272, 44, and XII, 207, 13). The former of the passages cited reads as follows: "As soon as that Eternal Being (Nārāyaṇa) concentrated thought upon a New Creation of the Universe[2] a lotus immediately came into existence from His navel and the four-faced Brahmā came forth from that navel-lotus." The extreme limits for the *Mahābhārata* are from

[1] "The whole world, whatever there is, was created from and moves in *prāṇa*" (*Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, VI, 2); "prāṇa is the life of all (*sarvāyuṣa*)" (*Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, II, 3). This importance attached to the vital center below the navel is illustrated in the art in the Birth of Brahmā formula, and that of the lotus rhizome rising from a Yakṣa's navel: when the rhizome springs from a Yakṣa's mouth, it is possible that the main (life-) breath, the Mukhya Prāṇa, is also thought of as the source of the vegetative force (cf. *Bṛhadār. Up.*, 1, 3, 7 and 8, where the Mukhya Prāṇa is called the *rasa* of the limbs). But it is perhaps more likely that the saliva is regarded here as representing the waters. The word *salila*, applicable to saliva in particular as well as to water in general is used in *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, I, 23, 1, as synonymous with *āpaḥ*, the usual designation of "the Waters." For comparative matter on the navel see Wensinck, A. J., *The ideas of the western Semites concerning the navel of the earth*, 1916; also above, p. 2 and below, p. 29.

[2] The Indian *yuga* system, here implied, has Sumerian sources or analogues, see J. A. O. S., 39, p. 66.

400 B. C. to 400 A. D., but already in YV., IV, 6, 2 Viśvakarman (=Brahmā) is born from the navel of the Unborn, in the waters, and cf. *Bṛhad Devatā,* V, 154, 155.

This tradition appears already in the RV., I, 24, 7, in connection with Varuṇa, then in RV., X, 82, 5, and YV., IV, 6, 2—" Prior to the sky, prior to this earth, prior to the living gods, what is that germ which the waters held first and in which all the gods existed? The waters held that same germ in which all the gods exist or find themselves; on the navel of the Unborn stood that in which all beings stood." The Unborn, of course, is one of the early designations of the world-ground, later called Puruṣa, Prajāpati, Brahman, or Nārāyana; and with the full development of theism, Viṣṇu inherits the formula. Meanwhile, in the AV., X, 7, 38, That One is spoken of as " a great Yakṣa in the midst of the creation, lying upon the sea in penance; therein are set whatever gods there are, like the branches of a tree round about a trunk."[1] In the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad,* VI, 1, we find " This eternal fig-tree! That (root) indeed is the Pure. That is Brahman. That indeed is called the undying. On it all the worlds do rest, and no one soever goes beyond it "; and somewhat similarly in the *Bhagavad Gītā,* XV, 1-3. There is thus an ancient and continuous tradition of a world origin in which are involved the waters, a Yakṣa, the navel, and a tree of life, the latter first mentioned in connection with Varuṇa.

It would be possible to multiply citations, of the kind assembled above, almost indefinitely. The nature of the Water Cosmology is, however, sufficiently revealed in what has been given. The ideology may be summed up as follows: from the primeval Waters arose the Plants, from Plants all other beings, in particular the gods, men, and cattle. *Rasa,* as an essence of the Waters, or as sap in trees, is variously identified with *soma, amṛta,* semen, milk, rain, honey, mead (*madhu*) and liquor (*surā*); there is a cycle in which the vital energy passes from heaven through the waters, plants, cattle and other typically virile or productive animals, and man, thence ultimately returning to the waters. The clouds rain milk or *soma;* they are sometimes called cows, as is also Aditi, the goddess of abundance who is also a personification of the honey-whip of the Aśvins, which may be the lightning. The myth of actual creation takes the form of the origination of a tree from the navel of a Primal Male, who rests upon the

[1] Many scholars have preferred in this passage to translate " Yakṣa " simply as a " great wonder." See above, p. 2, where I have argued that the original word should be retained.

Waters, and from whose navel the tree rises up; he is called a Yakṣa and was originally Varuṇa.

The abode or source of Agni is in the waters, in plants (wood), or in the earth, as well as in the sun and lightning. The prayers addressed to the Waters, or to the Plants, or to deities controlling them or other members of the series, are all of the nature of instigations to function vigorously. The lotus generally is a symbol of the waters, the lotus leaf which lies on the back of the waters is specifically a symbol of the earth; the waters are the support of all things.

In Vedic ritual there is an extensive use of vessels of water, often brought into connection with Varuṇa, and this has survived up to the present day.[1]

2. VARUṆA

Varuṇa and Mitra in RV., VII, 65, 2, are *asurā āryā*, "noble asuras," and even in AV., 1, 10, Varuṇa is still an *asura* who rules over the gods and whose commands are fulfilled; cf. *Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, III, 152.

An antithesis of Devas and Asuras in the Vedas has long been recognized, and it has been held by many scholars that the Asura gods, of whom the chief is Varuṇa, belong to another family, known in India long before that whose chief is Indra. Thus Charpentier remarks in connection with the Vedic mythology that "While gods like Indra . . . . seem to be the lords of a rustic, semi-nomadic, strong and half-barbarous generation, Varuṇa and Mitra seem to be in close touch with a much higher civilization. . . . . If Indra is the somewhat grotesque chief of a flock of early knights-errant, Varuṇa is the king in a well-ordered city-state . . . . it seems to be a more or less unavoidable conclusion that these gods were once introduced amongst the Indo-Iranians from some other people."[2]

The dominant theme of the Vedas is that of the conflict between the Devas and Asuras (*e. g.*, RV., I, 108, 6 and X, 124; YV., V, 4, 1).

[1] Cf. Burgess, J., *The ritual of Rāmeśvaram*, Indian Antiquary, XII, 1883.

[2] Charpentier, reviewing Keith's *Religion and philosophy of the Vedas*, in Bull. Sch. Oriental Studies, IV, p. 339. Cf. Rönnow, *Trita Āptya*, p. 75: "es steht mit ziemlicher Sicherheit fest, das nicht die Devas . . . . die ursprunglichen Besitzer der Soma wären, sondern eben die Dämonenwesen." "Demons," in such cases, generally represent the deities of an older and subsequently rejected mythology, as in the case of the European fairies, cf. Alfred Nutt, *The fairy mythology of Shakespeare*, London, 1900.

Cf. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*², pp. 187 ff., where it is suggested that Varuṇa, the Sun, and other Ādityas were not originally Indo-European gods, but were taken over by the still united Indo-Iranian Aryans from Semitic (*sc.* Sumerian) sources. For the moral contrast between Varuṇa and Indra cf. also Günters, *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland*, p. 97.

Finally " The gods drove out the Asuras, their rivals and enemies from this world " (ŚBr., XIII, 8, 2, 1). Varuṇa, indeed, escapes this fate, for he is accepted as a Deva,[1] and his asuric character is forgotten; but other Devas, Indra, Prajāpati, Nārāyaṇa, inherit his high functions, and he, as Varuṇa specifically, is reduced to the level of a god of the sea and of the waters generally, a sort of Indian Neptune, but with many reminiscences of his original character.

Probably the best discussion of Varuṇa will be found in Kretschmer, P., *Varuṇa und die Urgeschichte der Inder*, WZKM., 33, 1926. The connection of Varuṇa with Greek 'Ouranos is now misdoubted. Kretschmer sees in the Vedic Varuṇa a combination of a Hittite sea god, Aruna, with the Indo-Iranian Asura, Iranian Ahura Mazda; *i. e.*, finds that the Indian Varuṇa embodies two elements, an Iranian (Aryan) and a Sumero-Accadian-Hittite, the latter due to borrowing or inheritance by the " ur-Inder " (Aryan Mitanni) from the Sumero-Accadian culture surviving in Mesopotamia.

It would appear to me, however, that as god of living waters, fertility, and justice, and as a great king, Varuṇa belongs almost entirely to a settled order of things, to a city state and peasant culture of immemorial antiquity; that on the dark chthonic side of things, with its seasonal festivals, ritual eroticism, and possibly human sacrifice, the whole complex of ideas connected with Varuṇa and Aditi, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, and so forth, points backward to a great culture evolved with the beginnings of agriculture, and flourishing from the Mediterranean to the Indus, rather than to the priestly invention of later warlike peoples, such as the Persian or Indian Aryans. Varuṇa and Aditi in many respects suggest Tammuz and Ishtar.[2]

It is as king that Varuṇa's noose or fetters (*pāśa*) are called into play as penalties for sin. These fetters are drought, and the disease *yakṣma*, perhaps dropsy. Prayers and offerings are constantly addressed to Varuṇa, for release from these fetters. Sometimes other deities are asked to release the rivers or to absolve from sin, thus Agni and Soma " freed the streams from the dread imprecation, when they were held fast by Varuṇa's fetter " (YV., II, 3, 14). In Hillebrandt's view the Agniṣṭoma of the spring festival is offered to Varuṇa for the release of the rivers from their winter fetters. The

---

[1] Cf. Brown, W. N., *Proselytising the Asuras*, J. A. O. S., 39, 1919.

[2] For Varuṇa's fundamentally chthonic character and his relation to Aditi as mate and son, cf. Johannsen, K. F., *Ueber die altindische Göttin Dhiṣanā* . . . . , pp. 132, 133; for Aditi, cf. AV., VII, 6, 1, and *Jāiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmana*, I, 41.

scapegoat sacrifice at the end of the horse sacrifice, when a man representing Varuṇa stands in water and receives the sins of the community upon his head is suggestive in this connection. Johannsen, pp. 125 ff., sees here a survival of human sacrifice to Varuṇa, or rather, of Varuṇa himself; he thinks that a Puruṣamedha preceded the Aśvamedha, and like Hillebrandt sees in both the survival of the sacrifice, as a vegetation ritual, of a temporary king, for which so many parallels have been adduced by Frazer in the *Golden Bough;* the transition from a fertility to a sin offering in the case of the scapegoat ritual, being a later development. There is certainly sufficient evidence for a practise of human sacrifice to trees (tree spirits) in early India.

The ideal of kingship embodied in the original conception of Varuṇa may be said to have persisted in Indian culture up to the present day; it is very evident in the person of Rāma. The ideal king is a Dharmarāja, an incarnation of justice, and the fertility and prosperity of the country depend upon the king's virtue; the direct connection between justice and rainfall here involved is highly significant. Some more special points may be briefly noticed; thus, in Iranian mythology, earthly kingship (divine right) is plainly established and dependent upon a kingly glory, *hvarena,* "made by Ahura Mazda," and overshadowing every legitimate king. The idea is rather less prominent in India, though *yaśas,* royal glory, and *tejas,* fiery brilliance, partly correspond in usage to *hvarena.* The idea appears, however, in a more specific form in Java and Cambodia, and though in connection with Śiva, rather than Varuna himself, embodies many ancient features; for though the Devarāja or deified principle of kingship is here represented in the form of a lingam, this is a fiery emblem, and the setting up of such a lingam marks the establishment of a hegemony and secures the prosperity of the kingdom.[1] The similarity of the lustration (*abhiṣeka*) of a king in the coronation ceremony, and the *abhiṣeka* of Śrī will not be overlooked (cf. above, p. 21); and the connection of royalty with rainfall will be found again in connection with a characteristic gesture of a Cakravartin as represented in early reliefs.[2] Finally, may not the superiority of the Kṣatriya to the Brahman in Buddhism and Jainism (systems developed notoriously in incompletely Brahmanised areas, and often pre-

---

[1] Bosch, F. D. K., *Het Lingga-heiligdom van Dinaja,* K. Bat. Genootschap Kunsten en Wetenschapen, LXIV, 1924, esp. p. 272. Cf. below, pp. 43 ff.

[2] Coomaraswamy, A. K., *A royal gesture,* in Feestbundel K. Bat. Genootschap Kunsten en Wetenschapen, Deel I, 1929.

serving popular non-Vedic features, especially the Yakṣa cult) represent a survival from a time, equally pre-Aryan in India and in Persia, when kingship implied divinity and ranked above priesthood?

The character of the Vedic and Epic Varuṇa as summarised in Macdonell, *Vedic mythology* and Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, may be taken for granted as known to the reader. We shall discuss here only such points as have the most direct bearing on the present problem. Most prominent in the personality of Varuṇa are his connection with the celestial waters, and with holy order (*ṛta*) physical and moral; his kingship (*kṣatra, samrāj*) and justice, and the fetters (*pāśa*) with which he binds the sinner and controls the waters. At first sight, the logical connection between these qualities may not be obvious; but actually it is one that has remained prominent throughout the history of India. It is precisely upon the virtue and justice of any earthly king that the falling of the rains and ripening of the crops in due season directly depend; when a king's virtue fails, the order of Nature is disturbed. There is an ordeal by water (in which Varuṇa is specially mentioned), oaths are taken upon water, the bride circumambulates fire and water; a lying or even careless witness "casteth a thousand *pāśas* of Varuṇa upon himself" (*Mahābhārata*). As suggested by Professor Brown,[1] it is most likely Varuṇa as keeper of the waters and guardian of truth, who makes the "Act of Truth" efficacious; and who is the witness of the sealing of a gift or contract by libation (*dakṣinoda*).

Varuṇa was originally the root of the Tree of Life, the source of all creation (RV, I, 24, 7), and it is presumably still Varuṇa who is called the Unborn in RV., I, 24, 7, Unborn and "the Recumbent" (*uttānapad*, with legs outstretched) in RV., X, 72, 2 and 3, and a great Yakṣa reclining in *tapas* upon the back of the waters in AV., X, 7, 38, where the tree springs from his navel; though this formula is soon inherited by Prajāpati (YV, V, 6, 4), and then by Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) who retains it to this day (see above, pp. 2, 3). The world tree as species is variously interpreted in the literature, most often as an undying *aśvattha* or *nyagrodha*,[2] as *rāuhiṇa* in the *Suparṇâdhyāya*, and so forth, but as represented in the Plant Style and in connection with the Birth of Brahmā, as a lotus.[3]

---

[1] *Indian and Christian miracles of Walking on the Water*, p. 9.

[2] The *nyagrodha* is called "Varuṇa's" in Gobhila, *Gṛhya Sūtra*, IV, 7, 24. Later, *e. g. Jātaka* no. 489, the banyan is particularly connected with Kubera, and various unnamed *rukkha-devatās*.

[3] For further details, see pp. 2, 3, 13, and 24 above, and my *Tree of Jesse and Indian parallels or sources*, Art Bulletin, XI, 1929.

As lord of holy order, the succession of the seasons belongs to Varuṇa's lordship, and there is good reason to suppose that the great seasonal festivals, as suggested for example by Hillebrandt for the Agniṣṭoma of the Spring Festival, offered for relief from the fetters of winter, were primarily offered to him.[1] In Mbh., IX, 50, 32, those who perform the *caturmāsya* and the one hundred and ten sacrifices go to the "abode of King Varuṇa"; the Varunapraghāsas, the rites of the second of these four-month offerings, are for the remission of sin, by confession and offering to Varuṇa.

There is ample reason to believe that the *soma* offering and the horse sacrifice were originally made to Varuṇa, and only later transferred to Indra and Prajāpati.[2] For the *soma*, some texts have been cited above, and in RV., V, 85, 2, we have "Varuṇa has placed Agni in the waters, the Sun in heaven, and Soma on the rock"; *ib.*, IX, 95, 4, Varuṇa is clearly a synonym for *soma; ib.*, X, 31, 6, Varuna is called "the wise guardian of the *amṛta*"; and ŚBr., IV, 1, 4, 9, *soma eva Varuṇasya;* but the general argument is even more cogent than any selected text. The horse sacrifice is a vegetative ritual designed to secure the establishment of sovereign power, the fertility of men and cattle, and absolution from sin. Amongst evidences of its certainly pre-Vedic and probably pre-Aryan antiquity is the fact that certain characteristic features, such as the intimacy of the Mahiṣī with the slain horse (the pair is designated a *mithuna*), and the obscene dialogue are somewhat reluctantly tolerated rather than invented by the Brahman authors of the ritual texts.[3] The original connection with Varuṇa is preserved in the statement of the sacrificer, "He who will kill the horse attacks Varuṇa" (Āśvalāyana, *Śrauta Sūtra*, X, 6, 10, and SBr., XIII, 4, 3, 5), and in the ritual of the final bath. It is not easy to see why the horse should be associated with Indra; but a natural connection of the horse with Varuṇa and with the waters is stated or implied in many places, *e. g.*, ŚBr., V, 3, 1, 5, "the horse is Varuṇa's own," and *ib.*, VI, 2, 1, 5, where the horse is

[1] Hillebrandt, *Vedic Mythologie*, II, p. 40.

[2] Eggeling, in SBE., XLIV, xviii-xxiv; Keith, *Tāittirīya Saṁhitā*, HOS., Vol. 18, pp. cxxxiv-vii, and *Rel. and phil. of the Veda*, HOS., Vol. 32, p. 346; Dumont, *L'Aśvamedha*, p. xii; Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.*, II, pp. 33 ff.

[3] On *māithuna* cf. above p. 23; Gangoly, O. C., *The mithuna in Indian art*, Rūpam, 22-23, 1925; Mukherji, B. L., in Woodroffe, Sir John, *Shakti and Shākta*, pp. 441, 442. In SBr., ix, 4, 1, 2, Gandharvas and Apsarases are said to have proceeded "in pairs" from Prajāpati (*sc.* Varuṇa) and "birth originates from a pair." In this auspicious progenitive significance of "pairs" lies the explanation of the constant representation of *mithuna*, and sometimes of *māithuna* in the later art, as at Koṇārak. Cf. the *bhūtānām māithuna* at the *Mahāvrata*, where the purpose is to strengthen the sun in its northward course.

slaughtered "for Varuṇa," while in YV., II, 3, 12, 2, horses are *apsu-yoni*, "water-born" and the white horse produced at the Churning of the Ocean provides a specific example.[1] In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I, 2, 7, the Aśvamedha horse is indeed said to be Prajāpati's; but Prajāpati's connection with the ritual is of course a very late development, and this is by no means the only case in which he inherits what properly belongs to Varuṇa, whom, indeed, he represents.

In the *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, Varuṇa bestows on Bhṛgu a thousand horses which arose from the Ganges; in ŚBr., X, 6, 4, 1, the sacrificial horse is identified with the whole universe, and the passage concludes "The sea, indeed, is its kindred, the sea its birthplace." The existing iconography does not show us horses in connection with Varuṇa, but both normal and fish-tailed or water-horses (*jala-turaga*) are commonly found as vehicles of Yakṣas and Yakṣīs. The wide distribution of the idea of water or sea horses (*e. g.*, Russia, Greece, Scotland, China, etc.) is an indication of its antiquity.

It would appear natural to connect the doctrine of the Lokapālas, the Four Mahārājas, Regents of the Quarters, with the old descriptions of Varuṇa and Ahura Mazda as "four-cornered" (RV., I, 152, 2, and *Vendidad*, I, 18); for though it does not occur in Indian literature before the *Yajur Veda*,[2] the Four Guardians and the World

[1] Cf. Keith, *loc. cit.*; Charpentier, *Suparṇasage*, p. 385; Johannsen, *Ueber die altindische Göttin Dhiṣaṇā . . . .*, pp. 132, 151-3 (The horse is Varuṇa).

Although the Churning of the Ocean (*samudramanthana*), a myth of the creation of the sun (-horse) and moon (*soma*, *amṛta*), etc., and a "Water Cosmology" myth of the first importance, is only described at length in the Epic, and only represented in Gupta and later sculpture, it is plainly referred to (as pointed out by Charpentier, *Suparṇasage*, pp. 383 ff.) in RV., X, 72, and this fact and the parallel myths in other countries show its remote antiquity. Incidentally, as remarked by Charpentier, it should be noted that in RV., X, 72, 6, *iva nṛtayatām* should be rendered, not as by von Schroeder in *Mysterium und Mimus* "as dancers," but "as if dancers," or "like dancers," the clouds of spray raised by the gods (who are not dancing, but churning) being compared to clouds of dust raised by the feet of dancers. Cf. RV., X, 82, 6, and YV., IV, 6, 2. "This germ the waters first bore, when all the gods came together," and RV., I, 163, 1-4, and YV., IV, 6, 7, "Arising from the ocean or the spray . . . . like Varuṇa to me thou appearest, O steed."

[2] The earliest assignments of deities to the four quarters are those of YV., I, 8, 7, where we get Agni (E), Yama (S), Savitṛ (W), and Varuṇa (N), Bṛhaspati (Zenith), and *ib.*, VI, 1, 5, where we find Pathyā Svasti (E), Agni (S), Soma (W), Savitṛ (N), and Aditi (Zenith); *ib.*, II, 4, 14, Indra is guardian of the East. In AV., I, 3 the immortal guardians are praised, but not named. The *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, LV, 4 and ŚBr., III, 6, 4 have Agni (E), Yama (S), Varuṇa (W), Soma (N); and other schemes occur, those of the Buddhists and Jāinas differing, usually with Kubera in the North.

Mountain actually offer a very striking parallel to what is found in the Babylonian systems, and they have been thought to have been borrowed, or as I should express it, inherited from such sources;[1] it is certainly not inconceivable that a cosmology cognate to the Chaldean may have been known in India in pre-Vedic times. In the Brahmanical and Jāina systems, Varuṇa himself is Regent of the West, but it is more natural and accordant with his original status as supreme ruler to think of the four regent kings as his vassals[2] conceived in his likeness, and acting as his delegates, somewhat in the manner of the Amesha Spentas; in the Buddhist system, which as usual seems to embody older and more popular ideas, the Four Regents, viz., Vessavaṇa=Kubera (N), Dhataraṭṭha (E), Virūḷhaka (S), and Virūpakkha (W) have as their subjects Yakṣas, Kumbhāṇḍas, Gandharvas, Apsarases, and Nāgas, all beings connected with the waters, and in the Bharhut inscriptions, accompanying their images, all four are called Yakkhas. In all the systems, the Four Great Kings have space elephants (*dig-gajas*) as their vehicles, and possibly these elephants themselves were the original guardians of the quarters; in any case, they are the sources of the winds, which they blow through their trunks, and in the *abhiṣeka* of Śrī-Lakṣmī two or four of them pour down the rains from the inverted cask or jar of the clouds, which vessel in RV., V, 85, 3, 4, is specifically Varuṇa's. It is true that in the later mythology Āirāvata, the chief of the *dig-gajas*, is specifically the vehicle of Indra; but this is not Vedic, nor is it in the least degree likely that a purely Aryan deity should originally have been associated with a distinctively Indian animal symbol. In all probability the elephant, like the horse, was an ancient symbolic element in the Water Cosmology; for though we do not find it in iconography directly connected with Varuṇa, we do find normal sky- or cloud-elephants (*dig-gajas*) and water-elephants (*jalahastin, jalebha*) associated with Srī-Lakṣmī, with Yakṣas and Yakṣīs as vehicles (*Yakṣas*, I, pl. 3, fig. 2; pl. 4, fig. 2; pl. 22, fig. 1; and here pl. 9, fig. 1), and in the Plant Style in connection with lotus vegetation (pl. 11, fig. 1, and 40, fig. 2), and it is further noteworthy that the dwarf Yakṣas (pl. 43, fig. 7, also the merman, pl. 41, fig. 1) are often elephant-eared, and this suggests a connection with Gaṇeśa.[3]

---

[1] Kirfel, W., *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, pp. 28-36, esp. p. 34*. Cf. Heine-Geldern, *Weltbild und Bauform in Südostasians*, Wiener Beiträge, IV, 1913; Warren, W. F., *Problems still unsolved in Indo-Aryan cosmology*, J. A. O. S., XXVI, p. 84; Przyluski, J., *La ville du Cakravartin, loc. cit. supra.*

[2] Cf. the Digvyāsthāpana, the "*mounting of the king on the quarters*," a part of the Rājasūya ceremony.

[3] See *Yakṣas*, I, p. 7, and pl. 23, fig. 1, and MFA Bulletin, No. 159.

In ŚBr., XIII, 4, 3, 7-8, King Varuṇa's people are said to be Gandharvas, and those of King Soma, Apsarases; these are closely associated divinities of the waters and of fertility, and originally of more significance than when in the later literature they become little more than the musicians and dancers of Indra's court. The Gandharva or Gandharvas seem to have been original guardians of the *soma* on behalf of Varuṇa (cf. "Gandharvas, overseers of the guardians of the *soma*," ŚBr., III, 3, 3, 11, Kāṇva recension), and this is clearly why the *soma* for the *soma*-sacrifice when made to Indra has to be purchased from the Gandharva (Ait. Br., I, 27, 1), and why Indra is generally in the RV. hostile to the Gandharvas (RV., VIII, 1, 11, and 66, 5). The Gandharva Kṛśānu, who clearly corresponds to the Avestan Gandarewa Kereśāni who is connected with the *haoma*, is called a *soma-pāla* in Āit. Br., III, 26, 3, 2, and is said to be an archer and to shoot at the eagle which carries off the *soma* (RV., IV, 27, 3, and Tāit. Ar., I, 9, 1); but in the Bādāmī reliefs,[1] following a later version of the story, it is Varuṇa himself who, seated on his *makara*, shoots at Garuḍa. Amongst the defenders of the *soma* in the epic version of the story are both Yakṣas and Nāgas.[2] Reference has already been made to Gandharvas and Apsarases as tree and fertility spirits (*Yakṣas*, I, pp. 32, 33).[3] The importance of Gandharvas and Apsarases as progenitive deities appears also not only in their connection with marriage, but also in SBr., IX, 4, 1, 2 and 4, where they are said to be produced in couples (*mithuna*) from Prajāpati, for "birth originates from a pair (*mithuna*)." Apsarases are sometimes swan-maidens, swimming in lakes in the form of water birds (ŚBr., XI, 5, 1, 4, in connection with the story of Urvaśī); perhaps some reminiscence of this idea ought to be recognized in the constant representation of *haṁsas*, amongst or perched on expanded lotus flowers, in the Plant Style (cf. Pl. 11, fig. 2, center); it may also be significant that they are constantly represented as carrying lotus

[1] Banerji, R. D., *Bas-reliefs of Bādāmi*, Mem. A. S. I., 25, pl. XXIII, e. For good discussions of the story see Bloomfield, M., *The legend of Soma and the Eagle*, J. A. O. S., XVI, 1894, and Charpentier, *Suparṇasage*.

[2] Nāgas are not generally closely connected with the *soma*, but are indicated amongst *soma*-guardians by the epithet "footless" in ŚBr., I, 7, 1, 1, and *Suparṇādhyāya*, 22, 1, and 23, 1. In the early iconography, both Yakṣas and Nāgas may carry *amṛta*-flasks; the former are notably addicted to intoxicating liquor.

[3] "Nyagrodha, Udumbara, Aśvattha, Plakṣa . . . . are the homes of the Gandharvas and Apsarases" (YV., III, 4, 8.) As to how and why a connection between trees and human fertility may first have been imagined, cf. Przyluski, J., *Totémisme et végétalisme dans l'Inde*, Rev. de l'Histoire des Religions, XCVI, 1927, p. 359. The sequence of vegetable propagation is easily observed; and at a

flowers or garlands in their beaks. To sum up, Gandharvas and Apsarases appear to have been at first genii of vegetation and fertility, connected with Varuṇa and Soma, and when later they are reduced to the status of attendants on Indra, they are replaced, functionally, by the Yakṣas and Yakṣīs. Yakṣas and Yakṣīs are identical with Gandharvas and Apsarases as originally conceived, and perhaps this is a point on which considerable emphasis should be laid, as partially explaining some of the numerous other links which seem to connect the Yakṣas, including King Kubera, with Varuna.

The intimate connection of Varuṇa with Soma, and the partial and early identification of both with the Moon are noteworthy, as is also the fact that in the later art, in Navagraha groups, the Moon is sometimes given the *makara-vāhana* which is properly Varuṇa's. There does not seem to exist any very early source for the association of Varuṇa with the *makara*, although the latter is a very obvious symbol of the waters; but as *soma*-guardian in the *Mahābhārata* version of the Rape of the Soma and in the corresponding Bādāmī reliefs he is shown seated on the *makara*, beside the *soma* which is represented in the form of a jar placed on a rock, and again similarly seated, but letting fly an arrow at Garuḍa.[2]

Few myths are recorded in connection with Varuṇa; but there is a suggestion in AV., IV, 4, where his virility is decayed and is restored by means of a herb[3] dug for him by a Gandharva, that the very important theme of the god whose potency is impaired, with disastrous cosmic results, may once have belonged to Varuṇa. A hint of the usual explanation of the weakness appears in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 56, 12 ff., where Varuṇa begets Vasiṣṭha upon Urvaśī, "who belonged to Mitra, but loved Varuṇa"; but this may nevertheless be an ancient legend. There is also the Epic story of Varuṇa's theft of Bhadrā, daughter of Soma (the Moon); Bhadrā's husband, the sage Utathya, punishes the god by drinking up the waters, so that the land became a salt desert, a sand-waste. Only when the "Water-King" surrenders

---

time when paternity was not yet understood, the fruiting of trees and the growth of seedlings provided primitive man with an apparently obvious explanation of the nature of human conception. The idea of conception by the eating of a fruit, still current in Indian folklore, presents a phase of this idea in which the reproductive potency of a tree or tree spirit is evidently the supposed active agency. Cf. Meyer, J. J., *Sexual life in Ancient India*, pp. 156-8, and 561.

[1] Still functioning as *soma*-guardians in *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, 12, 3.

[2] Banerji, *loc. cit.*, pl. XXIII, a and e; here, pl. 45, fig. 1, and see p. 30.

[3] The plant is called "the first-born *rasa* of the waters and also of the plants, brother of *soma* and the lusty force of the antelope buck."

Bhadrā does Utathya release the waters and set the world free from affliction.[1] Somewhat in the same way Soma, the Moon, for his uxoriousness towards Rohiṇī, is punished by the curse of Dakṣa, who brings *yakṣma* upon him, which results in a waning which devastated the world and frightened even the gods; nor can this be wondered at, since the Moon "is water-born *soma,* without which nothing is produced" (Mbh., XIII, 67, 11 ff.); the only cure that can be found is in recourse to the "six essences of Varuṇa" (Mbh., I, 66, 17, and IX, 35, 43 f.).[2] It is almost needless to repeat that Varuṇā, Soma, and the Moon are constantly identified. These myths are more fully developed in connection with Indra, Prajāpati, Agni and Śiva, but there is at least a suggestion that Varuṇa may have been the original "Fisher King." The problem is further discussed below, p. 37 ff.

Another ancient Indian deity, who seems to have belonged to a mythological cycle outside the range of the Vedic tribes, and is connected with the *soma,* is Tvaṣṭṛ, whose "mead" (*madhu*) is called sometimes the "food of the Asuras," sometimes the "food of the Devas." He is said to have fashioned for the gods a special cup, but it is significant that the drink has to be stolen from him by Indra. In RV., V, 42, 13, an incest of Tvaṣṭṛ with his daughter is suggested.

We have already (above, p. 2) traced a continuity of the myth of the world tree springing from the navel of the cosmic deity, reclining on the Waters, from Varuṇa to Viṣṇu. Finally, the striking resemblance in ethical character between Viṣṇu and Varuṇa may be remarked; Viṣṇu in heaven, Rāma on earth, are both ideally righteous and wealthy kings, on whom as such naturally depend the prosperity of the universe or the earth. It is also noteworthy that Viṣṇu's complexion is said to be blue like the ether, while Varuṇa's is said (*Viṣṇudharmottara*) to be of the hue of water when the sky is reflected

---

[1] Cf. Meyer, J. J., *Sexual life in Ancient India,* II, p. 318.

[2] An earlier, almost identical version of the same story is found in YV., II, 3, 5 and II, 5, 6, 4-5 where Soma has to wife the thirty-three daughters of Prajāpati, but favors only Rohiṇī; he suffers from *yakṣma,* hence called "king's evil"; and is cured by the new moon oblation to the Ādityas, which makes him wax.

The text adds that he who knows the origin of these ailments will not be visited by them. Everyone will be familiar with the Brāhmana and Aupaniṣadic tendency to stress the importance of knowledge about a ritual, even above its performance; and with the universal Indian view that as from pupil to teacher only the asking of the right question can provoke the right answer. There may be a parallel here to the primary importance attached in the Grail Quest to the asking of the right questions; in India, magical efficacy is attributed to a statement of the truth.

in it.[1] In the *Agni Purāṇa*, Ch. LXIV, the identity of Varuṇa and Viṣṇu is actually recognized. A connection of Viṣṇu's consort Lakṣmī with Aditi has been suggested.[2]

It is thus practically proven, though only a part of the evidence has been presented above, that we have to do with, not a succession of new cosmic and supreme deities, but with a succession of new names attached to the original conception of the cosmic deity, the succession being that of Varuṇa, followed by Prajāpati, Puruṣa or Brahman, (Svayambhu), and Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu. This is further supported by the fact that all of these, taken two or three at a time, are in one place or another, of the literature, explicitly identified. The typically intermediate name Prajāpati, "the Progenitor," is indeed an epithet rather than a name, and as suggested by Johannsen,[3] may always be taken as directly the equivalent of Varuṇa. A recognition of these facts is of fundamental importance for the interpretation of Vedic and Hindu mythology.

In other words, the creation myths of the water cosmology (especially the Churning of the Ocean, and the World-tree myth in its various forms), which are later so conspicuously connected with Viṣṇu, are really inherited from Varuṇa. In the same way a succession of designations of the great Mother and Earth goddess can be recognized in Aditi, Iḍā, Dhiṣaṇā, Prakṛti, Vāk, and Lakṣmī and Bhūmī Devī, and in all aspects of the concept of Śakti.

The description of Varuṇa in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III, 52, though late, is not without interest and significance. He rides in a chariot drawn by seven *haṁsas*, said to represent the Seven Seas, he has an umbrella of dominion, and is supported by a *makara*. He has somewhat of a hanging belly (like a Yakṣa: cf. AV., IV, 16, 3, "Varuṇa's paunches" and *ib.*, IX, 15, "a paunch (*udara*) for treasure"); he is four-handed (this is of course a post-Vedic development shared with other deities), holding the lotus and fetter (*pāśa*) in his right hands, conch and jewel-vessel (*ratna-pātra*) in the left. The conch is said

---

[1] Cf. *Jāiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, IV, 1, 1, where Varuṇa is called *harinīla*.

[2] Cf. Eastern Art, I, 1928, p. 175; also Varuṇānī = Lakṣmī (Monier, Williams, Skt. Dict.).

[3] *Ueber die altindische Gottin Dhiṣaṇā* . . . . , p. 132, note: "Prajāpati ist der brahmanische nachfolger Varuṇa's, ist ein ander, ein noa-name, der an stelle der tabuierten names Varuṇa getreten ist." For the identity of Dakṣa, Puruṣa, and Prajāpati, see Charpentier, *Suparṇasage*, p. 391, discussing RV., X, 90.

Cf. also the connection of *surā* (Vāruṇī) with Varuṇa, later with Prajāpati (Hopkins, E. W., *The Fountain of Youth*, J. A. O. S., XXVI, p. 67.)

to represent riches (cf. Kubera's *śankha-nidhi*),[1] the fetter to bind the *saṁsāra*, the umbrella to be glory (*yaśas*, cf. below, pp. 28, 45, and AV,. VI, 39, where the prayer for *yaśas* is a prayer for sovranty), the *makara* well-being, enjoyment, or fertility (*saukhya*). His wife is Gaurī (in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Gaurī or Varuṇī), holding a blue lotus in her left hand. Attendant are Gaṅgā on the right, holding a lotus and standing on a *makara*, said to represent virility (*vīrya*), and Yamunā on the left, holding a blue lotus and standing on a tortoise (cf. p. 53), said to represent time (*kāla*).[2] It will be seen that Varuṇa's original character as a great king, dispenser of justice and punisher of sin, lord of rivers and of increase, is well preserved, and that the concrete symbolism is consistently and satisfactorily explained.

3. THE GRAIL MOTIF

The essential features of the Grail legend of Western Europe are the existence of a land ruled by a great king, the "Fisher King," whose land and castle are by the sea; upon his vitality the prosperity and fertility of the country depend; but notwithstanding that he possesses an all-wish-granting talisman (the Grail itself), often described as an inexhaustible bowl or dish, but sometimes as a gem, he lies wounded "in the loins" and impotent, or apparently dead, and his country is a waste land, parched by drought, and barren. The Grail quest is achieved when the hero, visiting the castle of the Fisher King and witnessing the ritual of the Grail procession and other marvels, enquires their meaning; immediately the wounded king is restored to vigor, the rivers once more flow in their channels, and the land is verdant.[3]

The three generally current "Grail theories" are respectively the Christian, the Folk-lore, and the Ritual. The latter is the most satisfactory, and seems to be that accepted by a majority of Grail scholars. According to this view, the essential elements of the Grail legend, apart from the later Christianising, are derived from an ancient life and vegetation cult, ultimately perhaps of Western Asiatic or even Indian origin. In its ritual aspect, the Adonis cult provides the nearest parallels, while the fundamental theme of the Freeing of the Waters is typically developed, as we have already seen, in the Vedas.

---

[1] Cf. *Varuṇa śaṅkha* of the Epic (Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, pp. 116, 117).

[2] Cf. "the fetter of time and the fetter of Varuṇa" (Mbh., XII, 227, 82 and 111): and AV., XIX, 53, 3, where a full vessel is set on time.

[3] The right question would provoke the right answer: and this right answer would have the efficacy of an "act of Truth."

Historically, these motifs found their way into European tradition as mysteries in the Roman period, and seem in later times to have been the leading ideas in a heretical Christian order probably to be associated with the Knights Templars. The medieval Grail literature, particularly in its earlier forms, embodies very many Oriental features, accessory to those of the main theme.[1]

There is nothing novel in the recognition of Grail parallels in Indian literature.[2] They are, however, more striking and more numerous than Grail scholars have suspected, and it will be useful to cite the most important. It may indeed be possible to indicate the outlines of a Life Myth connected with King Varuṇa; and behind him there may lie some even more ancient Iranian or Indo-Iranian pre-Aryan Lord of Life; for the concept of a Life deity (Tammuz) upon whose vitality the very existence of Nature and all its reproductive energies depended, and who was yet himself subject to declining powers and to injury or death like an ordinary mortal, was already a crystallised formula expressed in ritual observances in Sumeria early in the third millennium B. C. This Tammuz appears to have been not merely a vegetation spirit, but as suggested by Langdon, originally to have represented the vivifying waters, and like Varuṇa he was called a "son (or son-consort) of the waters."[3]

It should also be borne in mind that perhaps the "mysteries" of the life-cults had always an esoteric as well as an exoteric aspect, as we know to have been the case in the immediately pre- and post-Christian period in the Mediterranean area where they were "considered not only the most potent factors for assuring the material prosperity of the land and folk, but were also held to be the most appropriate vehicle for imparting the highest religious teaching."[4] We

[1] It will suffice for present purposes to cite J. L. Weston, *The Quest of the Holy Grail*, 1913, and *From ritual to romance*, 1920, where the subject is treated at length from the point of view of the Grail student, and where further references may be found.

[2] See, for example, Weston, *loc. cit.*; von Schroeder, *Die Wurzeln d. Sage v. heiligen Gral*, Wiener Sitzungsberichte, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Bd. 166 and *Arische Religion*, Vol. 11 (see index); Meyer, J. J., *Sexual life in ancient India*, p. 400, note 2.

[3] Langdon, S., *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 5. Cf. Barton, G. A., in J. A. O. S., XLV, 1925, p. 35, "Tammuz of the Deep."

[4] Weston, *From ritual to romance*, p. 149, commenting on the *Refutation* of the Christian mystic Hippolytus, ca. 228 A. D., where the mysteries are traced back to Assyrian sources on the one hand and on the other said to be fulfilled in Christianity. The phrase of Hippolytus "these Naassenes frequent what are called the mysteries of the Great Mother, believing that they obtain the clearest view of the Universal Mystery from the things done in them" could be exactly applied to the followers of modern Indian Śākta cults.

have already seen reason to believe that in India the deepest aspects of religious experience and the elements of metaphysics seem to have been connected rather with non-Vedic than with Vedic elements in Hinduism, and there can be no doubt of this so far as religious ecstasy is concerned; the explanatory tendencies of the later Vedic literature, and the constant readiness of the Upaniṣads to draw a parallel between macrocosm and microcosm, may well represent rather the emergence of old traditions than an actual novelty, and it would be reasonable enough to suppose that it had always been understood that generation is an image of regeneration. However these things may be (and it should not be forgotten that Hindus have always believed and still believe in the great antiquity of the more profound ideas embodied in such systems as that of the Śaiva Siddhānta), it is of interest to observe that just as in Europe the Grail legend motifs, originally pagan, were ultimately interpreted in an edifying and Christian sense (though never with the full approval of the Church), so in India the phraseology and symbolism of the life cults were retained and reinterpreted in sectarian circles (cf. p. 19 above), and in connection with deities other than those with whom they were first connected.

Thus, in the *Maṇimekhalai*[1] (a south Indian Buddhist legend dating in its literary form from about the third century A. D.) it is foretold of the heroine Maṇimekhalai that "there will appear a damsel with a begging bowl (originally the Buddha's) in her hand. Fed from that inexhaustible bowl the whole living world will revive. As a result of her grace, rains will pour in plenty at the command of Indra, and many other miracles will take place in this town. Even when rains fail, the country will still have abundance of water." The bowl itself is called Amṛta Surabhi and it appears once a year on the Buddha's birthday, from the waters of a lake beside a miraculous Buddha-seat protected by Indra; it emerges from these waters and enters Maṇimekhalai's hands; she makes it her vocation to alleviate hunger, thus, for example, in Puhār "she appeared in the hall of the hungry and destitute, with the inexhaustible bowl in her hand, as if pouring rain had come on a wild region burnt up with the heat of the sun," and from the bowl she feeds all men to their uttermost satisfaction. The story is long and intricate, but it may be observed that the heroine is the daughter of Kovalan and Kaṇṇakī (the hero and heroine of another Tamil poem, the *Silappadhikāram*), the latter being identified with the goddess Pattinī, extensively worshipped in Ceylon; that

[1] Vinson, J., *Légendes bouddhistes et djainas*, Paris, 1920; Aiyangar, S. K., *Maṇimekhalai in its historical setting*, Madras (1928); Pope, g. v., in Siddhānta Dīpika, Vol. XI, XII.

Maṇimekhalai is protected by and closely associated and ultimately to be identified with a goddess Maṇimekhalā,[1] who causes the destruction of a city by a tidal wave; in fact, the whole story is packed with miraculous features, which are merely made into the means of edification from a Buddhist point of view.

From such a reworking of ancient material as this let us turn to follow up some of the older sources. It will be found at once that almost every important Indian deity is said, in one place or another, to possess a wish-granting talisman, either an inexhaustible bowl or productive jewel, or a tree of paradise that yields all kinds of treasures, or a wishing-cow, or some other treasure, for example the *śaṅkha* and *padma nidhis* of Kubera; in the *Mahābhārata*, the Sun-god gives to Kuntī a copper dish of inexhaustible food (von Schroeder recognized here a Grail motif); in the *Maṇikaṇṭha Jātaka* (No. 253) a Nāgarāja possess a precious gem which yields "rich food and plenty" at will; Kubera, in the Epic, is said to possess a "beloved thing," which "gives immortality to mortals, makes the blind see, and restores youth to the old"; it is kept in a jar guarded by dragons, in a cave very difficult of access. We have further the general and very significant fact of the drink or food of the gods (*soma*, *amṛta*, etc.) always conceived as contained in or drunk from a special vessel, *e. g.*, the cup fashioned for the gods by Tvaṣṭṛ. When the *soma* is represented in art, it is as a full vessel (pl. 45, fig. 1), and precisely such a full or brimming vessel (*pūṇṇaghaṭa*, etc.) is the commonest of all Indian symbols of plenty (see pp. 61 ff), and also, as a symbol of the waters in the Plant Style, is constantly represented as a source of vegetation. One may also mention the cup, cask or udder of the clouds, originally Varuṇa's, later Indra's, from which the rain or heavenly *soma* is poured down to earth, and in the *abhiṣeka* of Śrī-Lakṣmī is held inverted by the *dig-gajas*, or cloud elephants. Varuṇa himself as lord of waters carries a vessel and is called the Lord of Vessels. Many of the deities carry an *amṛta* flask in their hands; this is particularly the case with Indra, who often uses the contents to restore the dead to life.[2] The full vessels regularly carried by river goddesses (*nadī-devatās*, see pp. 66 ff), who can fairly be called Apsarases in the original sense of the word (water-

[1] See Lévi, S., *Maṇimekhalā, a divinity of the sea*, Indian Historical Quarterly, VI, 1930. A "virgin of the seas" probably pre-Aryan, is still worshipped by fishermen on the Coromandel coast (Siddhānta Dīpika, XII, p. 169).

[2] When an *amṛta*-flask is later carried by Avalokiteśvara, no doubt the living water is spiritually interpreted, cf. *Yakṣas*, I, p. 31.

nymphs, cf. the Indian derivation *apsu-rasa*) may also be noted (pls. 19, fig. 2 and 26, fig. 1), and likewise the universal Indian custom of offering a full vessel to an honored deity or guest (see p. 61, note 2, and pl. 41, fig. 4).

At this point further attention must be called to one of the most characteristic features of the Grail legend and of Indian culture, though the idea is widespread elsewhere, viz., the direct connection between the virtue (moral and physical) of the king, and the fertility (dependent on rainfall) of the country over which he rules. This motif is so constantly met with in Indian literature at all periods, that it will suffice to cite a single typical example from the already quoted *Maṇimekhalai*, where a goddess addresses a prince as follows: "Oh, son of the great king! If the king swerve ever so little from righteousness, the planets themselves will desert their orbits; if the planets change their course, rainfall will diminish; with a shortage of rainfall, all life on earth will cease; the king will often cease to be regarded as king, because he would seem not to regard all life as his own." We have seen already in Varuṇa the ideal prototype of the righteous, justice-dispensing, king, who makes the rains fall and the rivers flow, and so bestows fruitfulness upon the whole world: that some of his functions are later taken over by others is immaterial. We have also seen that the great deity possesses a vessel containing the Water of Life.

Under normal circumstances it would appear that the possession of this Water of Life ensured the renewal of the vitality of the deity who year after year with the return of Spring, restored the world to life and productivity, after a season of apparent impotence or immobility; it is with the same end of restoring or maintaining the vitality of the god that the Vedic *soma*-offering is made. Nevertheless, there must have arisen from time to time occasions of unparalleled and unseasonable drought and famine, which could not be sufficiently accounted for by the failings of an earthly king, nor remedied by human offerings or penance. It was surely natural to assume that such disasters were due to an impotence of the Divine King, and that this impotence or maiming must have been a consequence of some heinous sexual sin, either grave adultery or incest, for which the earthly punishment would be extirpation of the male organ.[1] The necessity of immediately restoring the Divine King's virility would be

[1] In ŚBr., II, 5, 2, 20, adultery is called a sin against Varuṇa, and must be expiated by confession (truth). The punishment mentioned above is that prescribed in the Dharma-śāstras, e. g., *Nārada-smṛti*, XII, 75.

obvious, for even the gods are appalled at the results.[1] The process of restoring the Divine King to vigor, though imagined to have taken place in heaven, would naturally be enacted as a drought-dispelling ritual on earth; actually most of the Vedic rituals in whole or part have the intention of restoring or increasing the power of the gods, or of their representative on earth, and we need only suppose a more special case, to have before us a simple and adequate explanation for the development of a "Grail ritual."[2]

We have already seen how in such a predicament Varuṇa is cured by a herb identified with *rasa* and *soma*, and how the Moon is remedied by the six *rasas* of Varuṇa himself. These are perhaps versions or inversions of one and the same story, which later on we find again in connection with Prajāpati, who replaces Varuṇa as a progenitive deity. The story[3] is best preserved in Āit. Br., III, 33-34, and ŚBr., I, 7, 4 f.: Prajāpati in the form of a buck (*ṛṣya*) couples with his daughter in the form of a deer (*rohit*); the gods are shocked, and invoke a dread form of Rudra, who wounds Prajāpati with an arrow, so that his seed falls to the ground; the gods, however, are not willing that it should be wasted, and after treating it with fire, fanned by the Maruts, various beings, animals, etc., are produced; Prajāpati becomes the constellation Mṛgaśīrṣa ("Deer's head") and his daughter the asterism Rohiṇī, whom we have already seen as the too much favored wife of the Moon. A somewhat similar story is more briefly indicated in connection with Dakṣa, in RV., X, 72; here Dakṣa is the male principle; and Aditi, at once his mother and daughter, and she becomes the mother of the gods, "the friends of the *amṛta*." Dakṣa can be identified with Puruṣa (RV., X, 90) and with Prajāpati (ŚBr., II, 4, 4, 2), and presents analogies with Varuṇa;[4] a reminiscence of the story as told of Prajāpati can be recognized even in the later

[1] For the importance attached to the king's virility, cf. ŚBr., IX, 4, 1, 4, "He alone is (ruler) of kingdom who propagates offspring."

[2] Cf. YV., I, 4, 45, "O bath, O flood . . . . , thou hast removed by sacrifice the sin committed by the gods" and *ib.*, V, 3, 12, "He who sacrifices with the horse-sacrifice makes Prajāpati whole; verily be becomes whole; this is the atonement for everything, and the cure for everything. All evil by it the gods overcame."

[3] Earlier allusions in RV., I, 71, 5 and X, 61, 5-7 (Dyaus taking the place of Prajāpati). A later reminiscence apparently in Mbh., I, 118, where a *ṛṣi's* son is shot by Pāṇḍu while coupling with his mate in the form of a deer though here it is Pāṇḍu that is regarded as the sinner, and suffers from the curse that any indulgence in sexual intercourse on his part shall result in his immediate death.

[4] Cf. Charpentier, *Suparṇasage*, p. 391; and above, p. 36.

legend of Dakṣa's sacrifice, where Dakṣa's head is replaced by that of a buck.[1] Somewhat similar stories are told of Indra in post-Vedic literature, where he is called a habitual paramour; he is unmanned, by Agni's advice, for adultery with Ahalyā, the wife of the sage Gāutama, and for other sins, not sexual, he is several times paralysed. An earlier amatory escapade of Indra alluded to in RV., I, 51, 13, is explained in the *Ṣaḍviṁsa Brāhmaṇa* as referring to the seduction of Vṛṣanaśva's daughter, the Apsaras Menakā (Oertel, H., *Contributions from the Jāiminīya Brāhmaṇa* . . . . , J. A. O. S., XXVI, 176). Now in the *soma* sacrifice, the purchase of the *soma* by the gods from the Gandharva(s) in exchange for Vāk "because the Gandharva is fond of women" (ŚBr., III, 2, 4) forms the theme of a kind of ritual drama in which a Śūdra represents the Gandharva (YV., I, 2, 7 and ŚBr., III, 3, 3, 10; Caland and Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, p. 46; Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.*, 2nd ed., I, pp. 257-8); and it is most significant, in view of the fact that the offering is primarily to Indra, that the purchased *soma* is placed by the priest on the sacrificer's bared thigh, with the formula "Enter the right thigh of Indra," and that the sacrificer then rises, saying "With new life, with good life, am I risen after the immortals." Indra also loses his energy as a consequence of his struggle with Vṛtra, the demon of drought; his power and strength went into the earth and became plants and roots, and this is why *soma* is in the milk of cows, for plants are their food (YV., II, 5, 3; ŚBr., I, 6, 4, 4-6; *Tāittirīya Saṁhitā*, II, 5, 3, 2 seq.); his strength is restored by *soma*. The stories as related of Varuṇa (see p. 34 above), Soma, Tvaṣṭṛ, Prajāpati, and Dakṣa seem to be all forms of one and the same myth; in the case of Indra, the stories are perhaps more trivial, but it is still significant that we have to do with a god of rain injured "in the loins" or paralysed as punishment for a sin. It may be observed that the incest had not perhaps been originally so much regarded as a moral sin, as an infringement of a *tabu* (in any case some kind of incest on the part of the first progenitors is more or less inevitable, *e. g.*, in the case of Manu and Iḍā in the flood legend, ŚBr., I, 8, 1); the result is a particular fruitfulness, but still the penalty of the infringement cannot be avoided.

The somewhat more elaborate myth of the same kind connected with Śiva[2] may be still another version of the same legend, or an

[1] For comments on the story in connection with Dakṣa, see Charpentier, *Suparṇasage*, pp. 390-392.

[2] See Jahn, W., *Die Legende vom Devadāruvana*, ZDMG., 69, 1915, and *Die Legende vom Devadāruvana im Śiva-Purāṇa*, *ib.*, 71, 1917; Deussen, W., *Ueber das Devadāruvana*, *ib.*; Bosch, F. D. K., *Het Linga-Heiligdom van Dinaja*, Tijdschr. K. Bat. Genootschap Kunsten en Wetenschapen, LXIV, 1924.

independent story derived from the same stratum of ideas. Śiva is said in RV., X, 92, 5, to release the waters, and the later Gaṅgāvataraṇa legend presents the same idea in a more extended myth; but the Devadāruvana legend, though it is found only in post-Vedic works, mainly in the Mahābhārata and in many of the Purāṇas is in its extant form, as pointed out by Deussen, a legend designed to make orthodox what was once an ancient cult of fertility: specifically to explain and justify the *liṅgam* cult.[1] The story, which has numerous variants, and is often represented in Indian sculpture[2] may be summarised as follows: there is in the Devadāruvana forest a hermitage of *ṛṣis*, fire-worshipping sages, living with their wives and daughters, and practising rigorous asceticism. Śiva visits the wood in the form of a naked mendicant, carrying a skull-cup and begging alms. At the sight of his indescribable beauty, the wives of the sages are distracted; they follow him, casting off their clothes and ornaments, and yield to his embrace. The enraged sages launch a curse at the mendicant, so that his *liṅgam* falls to the ground; it strikes the earth, splits it open, and sinks into the underworld. The body of the mendicant himself falls into the opening. Dread portents follow, and

[1] As to the nature of the original fertility symbolism, cf., Przyluski, J., *Non-Aryan loans in Indo-Aryan*, in Bagchi, P. C., *Pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian in India*, 1929, pp. 10-15, where it is suggested that *liṅga*, *lāṅgala*, and *lāṅgūla*, all having amongst other meanings that of *membrum virile*, and the second meaning also more usually "plough," are derived from a common non-Aryan root having the general sense of "to push in, to make a hole"; and that the use of a planting stick, or in later cultural development, of the plough, was thought of as a fertilising penetration of Mother Earth, analogous to ordinary sexual intercourse. Cf. the production of Sītā from the furrow with a plough by king Janaka ("the progenitor"); YV., IV, 2, 5, and 6, where seed is sown in the field-womb, and the propitious plough "ploughs up a cow, a fat blooming maid," etc.; also the importance attached to the ritual ploughing, by the ruler in person, at the beginning of the planting season in various Oriental countries, *e. g.*, Ceylon and China; an Indian ploughing festival (*vappamaṅgala*) of this kind is described in *Jātaka*, I, 57 and DhA., II, 113. An analogous symbolism is to be found also in ŚBr., I, 9, 2, 21, where the contact of the male *veda* (broom) with the female *vedi* (altar) is said to effect "a union productive of offspring." Cf. Sophocles, *Antigone*, 569.

A curious and rather different account of the origin of *liṅgam* worship appears in Mbh. X, 17, 8 ff.; here Śiva pulls off his own member, which drives into the earth and there stands erect.

[2] *E. g.*, relief at the Mallikārjuna temple, Śrīśaila, Karnūl District (Longhurst, A. H., in A. S. I., A. R., Southern Circle, 1917-18, p. 32, and Pl. XIV, b); a relief at Karusā (Burgess, *Antiquities of Bidar and Aurangabad*, A. S. W. I., vol. III, Pl. XVII, 4); and several unpublished, amongst others, pillar figures in the entrance hall of the Mīnākṣī temple at Madura.

the cosmic order is disrupted. The gods in terror hastily repair to Brahmā, who explains that this is the result of the maiming and disappearance of Śiva (until now the mendicant has not been recognized). The gods then resort to Śiva, who lies swooning as if in deep sleep, and beseech him to resume his *liṅgam*, lest the three worlds perish. After a preliminary refusal, Śiva agrees, upon condition that gods and Brahmans shall forthwith worship the *liṅgam*. The gods agree to this, and the *liṅgam* is worshipped in the underworld. Śiva is satisfied, and taking the *liṅgam*, sets it up in the "Field of the Lord of Gold" (Hāṭakeśvara-kṣetra, ? land of Kubera). At the same time Brahmā sets up a golden *liṅgam*, called Lord of Gold (Hāṭakeśvara), and proclaims that all who worship such a *liṅgam* made of precious substances shall attain the highest path. As shown by Bosch, relying mainly on the *Praśna Upaniṣad*, III, 5, 8, and 9, Śiva (Rudra) is here clearly the earthly form of Agni, hence the earth can be regarded as his body, and setting up of the *liṅgam* in the earth effectively accomplishes the reunion of the member with the body of the god; which is not without a parallel in the Grail ritual task of the "welding of the sword."

Agni himself is an Asura king and is sometimes identified with Varuṇa or Mitra-Varuṇa (Macdonell, *Vedic mythology;* Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, pp. 178, 222, 227, etc.), and also with Śiva. The Devadāruvana legend actually occurs in a confused form in both Epics in connection with Agni (see Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 194), who desires the wives of the ṛṣis, and in order to seduce them assumes the form of the household fires; unsuccessful, he seeks to "commit suicide in the forest"; but Svāhā, daughter of Dakṣa, loves Agni, and assumes the forms of the wives, and this results in the birth of Skanda. Here Svāhā, daughter of Dakṣa, and regularly recognized as the wife of Agni, is clearly the same as Umā, daughter of Dakṣa and lover and wife of Śiva, in the story of Dakṣa's sacrifice and the birth of Skanda (the War god). At the same time we have here, in still another variant, the story of the deity who suffers for his transgressions; it can hardly be doubted that Agni's wish to commit suicide is simply an expression of loss of power, the dying down of the flame, while the end of the story proves that virility has been restored.

---

[1] Dr. Bosch shows further that the story provides an adequate explanation of the "fiery lingam" of the Devarāja cult of Java and Cambodia, where it represents the "fiery essence of kingship, a radiant earthly emanation of royal wisdom and dominion"; for the male organ is the *tejas* of the lower life breath (*apāna*) which corresponds to the earthly form of the cosmic deity, and this *tejas* (or *yaśas*) may be regarded as cognate to the Iranian *hvarena*. Cf. above, pp. 28, 37.

It is thus beyond question that the fundamental theme of the Grail legend is present in India, that it once belonged to a vegetation or fertility cult, and that just as in Europe, so in India the original meaning of the motif was gradually forgotten, so that the myth became a tale, employed for edifying purposes remote from those of its primary significance.

A few other parallels may be more briefly noted. The place of the Doctor in European vegetation rituals has been remarked upon by Miss Weston (*Ritual to romance*, Ch. VIII) and attention has been called to the medical value of herbs as stressed in these rituals and in the Vedas, esp. RV., X, 97, and also to the activities of the Aśvins in Vedic myths. Varuṇa himself is a patron of physicians. In this connection there might well have been mentioned Dhanvantari, the Divine Physician who at the Churning of the Ocean, rises from the waters with the desired *soma*, accompanied by the apsarases (*Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 45, 20).[1] The fish symbol and the designation Fisher King have also been discussed, with reference to Babylonian and Indian fish-symbolism, the fish-avatār of Viṣṇu, etc. The latter was originally a form of Brahmā, and probably before that of some earlier deity; in the Flood legend the "fish" (*jhaṣa*) is really a horned creature, and a synonym of *makara*, which later became the characteristic vehicle of Varuṇa, but we cannot prove an early association, though such would be very plausible. Fish proper, especially a pair of fish, are a common auspicious symbol in India (*e. g.*, in the Jaina *aṣṭamaṅgala*), and in at least one instance we find fish associated with a goddess of abundance on an early terracotta plaque.[2] But on the whole, these analogies should not be pressed too far.

The same applies to the dance. Folk dances, in part fertility rites and rain spells (*e. g.*, the pot-dance of maidens at the Mahāvrata, and in the Mārjālīya ceremony after the horse sacrifice), and also sword dances (especially in Kulū) are certainly known in India, and present suggestive parallels with various vegetation and sword dances of Europe. Von Schroeder and Hertel have sought to interpret many Vedic hymns as being the words of early vegetation dramas or mysteries, and the general Indian tendency to think of the dance as a

[1] For Dhanvantari see Gray, L. H., *The Indian god Dhanvantari*, J. A. O. S., vol. 42, 1922.

[2] See Coomaraswamy, *Archaic Indian terracottas*, Ipek, 1918, fig. 24. Cf. Dölger, F. J., *IXΘYC, der heilige Fisch in den antiken Religionen und im Christentum*; and Pischel, *Der Ursprung des christlichen Fischsymbols*, Sitzber. Berlin Akad. Wiss., XXV, 1905.

symbol or instigation of cosmogenic activities cannot be ignored;[1] but here, too, the available evidence has been overstrained, and the parallels are rather suggestive than cogent from the Grail point of view. The fundamental theme of the maimed king, and consequent cosmic disaster, necessitating a ritual designed to secure the freeing of the waters, is, on the contrary, plainly traceable in India, where it must once have existed in a more definite and unified form than that in which it now survives.

4. THE MAKARA

Detailed studies have been made of the *makara* as a decorative motif in Indian and Indonesian art;[2] but little has been said of its significance. It may be remarked at once, that as a great Leviathan moving in the waters, the *makara* is obviously a symbol of the waters and, as will appear from its associations, more specifically of the Essence in the Waters, the principle of life. The type is well known as the vehicle of Varuṇa and the banner of Kāmadeva, and it is significant that these deities are sometimes identified; and as the vehicle of various Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, and of the river-goddess Gaṅgā. It occurs in the spandrils of early tympanums,[3] on the architraves of early *toraṇas*,[4] and in an analogous position on throne-backs; as a headdress ornament,[5] earring, or otherwise in jewellery; isolated on medallions of railing pillars or cross-bars; and very appropriately as a *soma-sūtra* or gargoyle carrying away the offering-water from a lingam shrine.[6]

---

[1] Von Schroeder, L., *Göttertans und Weltenstchung*, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenländes, XXII, 223 ff., and XXIII, 270 ff.; *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*, 1908; Hertel, J., in Wiener Zeitschr., XVIII, 59 ff., 137 ff., XXIII, 273 ff., XXIV, 117 ff. Cf. Coomaraswamy, *The dance in India*, Encyclopedia Britannica, 14th ed., with bibliography, and *The dance of Śiva*.

[2] Cousens, H., *The makara in Hindu ornament*, A. S. I., A. R., 1903-04; Vogel, J. Ph., *De makara en de voor-indische beeldhouwkunst*, Nederlandsch Indie Oud en Nieuw, VIII, 1924, pp. 263-276; Stutterheim, W. F., *The meaning of the Kāla-Makara ornament*, Ind. Art and letters, NS., III, pp. 27-52; [Gangoly, O. C.]. *A note on Kīrtimukha*, Rūpam, I, 1920; Vogel, J. Ph., *Le makara dans la sculpture de l'Inde*, Rev. des Arts Asiatiques, VI, 1930.

[3] Lomas Ṛṣi cave, best reproduction, Jackson, V. H., *Notes on the Barabar hills*, J. B. O. R. S., XII, 1926; Vogel, *loc. cit.*, Afb. 2; H. I. I. A., fig. 28. Later examples, Bachhofer, *Early Indian sculpture*, pls. 102, 103; M. F. A. Bulletin, No. 150; Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pls. LV-LVII.

[4] Cunningham, A., *Stupa of Bharhut*, 1879, pl. lx; Vogel, *loc. cit.*, Afb. 3, 4, 5.

[5] Brandes, *Le makara comme ornament de coiffure*, Rev. de la Societé batavienne, 1906.

[6] E. g., Vogel, *loc. cit.*, 1924, Afb. 11; 1930, pl. XXXVIII.

It appears in the Plant Style as the source of lotus vegetation (alternatively with other symbols, particularly the full vase, and Yakṣa's mouth or navel); and from this type there have developed a great variety of decorative architectural motifs, concluding with that of the familiar *makara-toraṇa* and the *tiruvāsi* of a Naṭarāja. Not infrequently there are associated with the *makara* one or more dwarf Yakṣas riding or otherwise controlling the monster; or apparently dragging vegetation, or sometimes an unseen object from its mouth; in one case it is evidently Śrī-Lakṣmī who is dragging the lotus rhizome from a *makara's* jaws (pl. 12, fig. 4). Sometimes a man or some animal or animals are represented as emerging from or springing from the open jaws,[1] more often such forms are enclosed by the scrolls of the lotus vegetation which rises from the open jaws.

The *makara* is always represented, at least in the early art, as a creature with a head like a crocodile, but with horns or fleshy feelers extending backwards from the end of the long snout; with sharply pointed teeth; at first with four, later with two or four rather leonine or dog-like legs; and a scaly body and tail at first crocodilian, later ending like a fish's. Only the Lomas Ṛṣi example shows a more pointed reptilian tail, with spines; the unique example of pl. 16, fig. 1, has dorsal spines and no legs. The later mediaeval forms, such as those with floriated tails in Gupta and later art, or those resembling land animals in Hoysala and later southern art, do not concern us; as remarked by Stutterheim " In all these motifs the permanent element would be the symbolical meaning, and the mutable element the external form." Moreover, the original types persist to modern times (cf. pl. 16, fig. 4). The various forms of *makara* are so fully illustrated that it is unnecessary to make detailed reference to the accompanying plates.

The full-face *makara*, which appears as an architectural motif only in the late Gupta period (Sārnāth, Bhumara, etc.),—though earlier as a small metal ornament found at Taxila[2] and as part of a head-dress at Amarāvatī,[3]—and finally with the designation *makara-vaktra* takes its place as the crowning element of the " caitya-window " arch

[1] *E. g.*, Cunningham, A. S. Rep., X, p. 20, referring to a *makara-toraṇa* at the temple of Lakṣmināth at Khajurāho, "From the springing of each stalk just after it leaves the crocodile's mouth, a female figure hangs by the arm, with the feet still in the mouth of the crocodile, as if she had sprung forth along with the stalk." See also pls. 4, fig. 2, and 43, fig. 6.

[2] A. S. I., A. R., 1919-20, pl. x, fig. 31; cf. A. S. I., A. R., 1915-16, p. 6.

[3] Bachhofer, *Early Indian sculpture*, pl. 129, left.

as a fully developed *makara-toraṇa*[1] is also known as a *kīrtimukha* ("glory head"), *siṁha-mukha* ("lion's head"), in Ceylon as *kibihi*, and in Java as *kāla* (*-makara*) and *vanaspati*. It is apparently an analogue of the Chinese *tao tieh*, and of Scythian, Animal Style affinity. In all probability the *kīrtimukha* had no original connection with the *makara*, but that it was thus interpreted after the Gupta period is clearly established both by the term *makara vaktra*, and by the fact that vegetation or pearl garlands are regularly shown (*e. g.*, pls. 37, fig. 1 and 39, fig. 2, M. F. A. Bulletin No. 167, p. 5) as hanging from the jaws; as a rule the under-jaw is absent, or concealed by this vegetation. The same forms, for which one can hardly doubt an ultimately Indian origin, occur frequently in medieval European art (pl. 47, figs. 2, 3).

What the precise zoological prototypes of the *makara* are can hardly be positively stated. The general type is obviously crocodilian; Vogel has plausibly suggested as main prototype, *Crocodilus porosus*, the larger of the two Indian species, inhabiting both the estuaries of rivers and the ocean itself; cf. *makarâlaya*, the ocean. As K. de B. Codrington remarks, the *makara* "is undoubtedly indigenous."[2]

I see nothing to justify Stutterheim's suggestion that the *makara* has a Hellenistic source, beyond the fact that the *makara* in comparative mythology may be called the analogue of the Greek dolphin; and this only means that each is selected as a symbol in its place as being the most obvious representative of the waters or the ocean, and as the king of "fish." For the Indian *makara*, India furnishes a zoological prototype; Varuṇa and a series of functionally related deities provide the ultimate necessity for a "fish," or rather "Leviathan" symbol; the almost certain identity of the horned *jhaṣa* of the flood legend with the horned *makara* provides literary evidence antedating the Hellenistic period, not to mention the occurrence of the word *makara* in the *Vājasaneya Saṁhitā*, XXIV, 35; besides this, the motif is only of the rarest occurrence in the art of Gandhāra. For the *kīrtimukha*, however, a Hellenistic origin is possible,[3] though a "Scythian" source is more likely.

From Bhartṛhari's *Nītiśataka*, 4, it is clear that there existed some legendary connection of *makaras* with pearls (cf. the *makara* as one of Kubera's nine treasures),[4] and that to extract a pearl from a *makara's*

[1] Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde*, fig. 27.

[2] Codrington and Smith, *History of fine art in India and Ceylon*, p. 33, note 1.

[3] Cf. Le Coq, *Bilderatlas*, pp. 94, 95.

[4] Kubera's "nine treasures" are the Padma, Mahâpadma, Śaṅkha, Makara, Kacchapa, Mukunda, Nanda, Nīla, and Kharva, and nearly all of these are water-symbols.

jaws was a proverbial example of courage. In jewellery, the motif of pearls extended between the open jaws of *makaras* is exemplified in Mathurā sculptures illustrated by Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, plates XXXIII and XXXIV, a; later, the motif of pearl garlands suspended from *kīrtimukha* jaws is a common architectural ornament. In several representations a dwarf Yakṣa is apparently removing some small object from the monster's jaws (pl. 43, fig. 7; pl. 50), in others an armed warrior is fighting within the jaws (Vogel, *loc. cit.*, 1924, Afb. 5, 1930, p. 140, and *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. X) and it may be assumed that the object sought is a pearl. In the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, Ch. LXXXI, pearls are similarly said to be produced by the *timi*, another sea monster, and one of " Varuṇa's creatures." Heine-Geldern has made the plausible suggestion that pearls of such supposed origin may have been regarded as efficacious in the preparation of aphrodisiacs.[1]

It should not be overlooked that the *makara*, itself perhaps to be regarded as amphibian, is not an isolated type, but belongs to a considerable group of mythical creatures, for the most part terrestrial as to the head and shoulders, riverine or marine in the body and tail, which last is always of the same piscine form as the *makara's*. Two of these, the water-horse (*jala-turaga*) and water-elephant (*jalahastin, jalakarī, jalebha*) occur often as Yakṣa or Yakṣī vehicles, particularly in the early reliefs from Jaggayyapeṭa (pls. 42, fig. 2, and 43, fig. 4).

Despite an unnecessary confusion that has been made, the *jalebha* and *makara* are distinct forms and easily distinguishable.[2] The best example of an isolated *jalebha* known to me is reproduced by V. Smith, *Jain stupa of Mathura*, plates LXXIII, figure 1; other unmistakable examples are reproduced here on plates 40, figure 4, and 43, figure 4. Besides occurring thus as a Yakṣa vehicle, and as an isolated motif, the *jalebha* is found also very commonly in the Plant Style as the source of the vegetative motif, usually a lotus rhizome (pl. 37, fig. 4), occasionally a series of palmettes (pl. 40, fig. 4), and is then clearly, like the alternative *makara*, Yakṣa mouth or navel, or full vase, a symbol of the waters as the source of life.

In addition to the water-horse and water-elephant, which are found in association with Yakṣas or with vegetation in the Plant Style, a number of other creatures of the same *makara*-bodied type are found

[1] *Altjavanische Bronzen*, 1925, pp. 24 ff.

[2] As pointed out by Vogel, *De makara en de voor-indische beeldhouwkunst*, p. 270. The *jalebha* is a marine monster in *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XII, 13. For *jalakarī* see Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, p. 43.

only as separate forms, for the most part but not exclusively on medallions of railing pillars. These include the merman type (male and female);[1] the water-bull (pl. 43, fig. 1); the water-griffon;[2] lion (pl. 9, fig. 3); the winged water-lion;[3] and probably others which I may have overlooked.[4] These beings are always provided with small fins, exactly like those of *makaras*. Inasmuch as we have represented in the art winged, normal, and fish-tailed forms of all the chief types of animals, that is to say, in addition to the human type, the horse,[5] elephant, lion and bull, as well as some others, it seems reasonable to assume that the animal species were conceived as existing in all three worlds, atmosphere or heaven, earth, and waters or underworld, in forms adapted to each habitat; just as Agni, for example, is conceived as existing in three forms, an atmospheric, terrestrial, and underworld.[6] In the literature, at any rate, this conception of the three worlds is clearly the oldest, and it is also in the earliest art, surviving from an unknown past, that we find the animal species characteristically developed in the three forms, winged, normal, and provided with fins and fish tails.

A few words may be said about the *grāha*, another of Varuṇa's creatures according to the Epic list. The word means "seizer." It is found in the *Suparṇâdhyaya*, 14, 2, synonymous with *mahān bhūtam* ("monster") of *ib.*, 13, 1, where the *grāha* inhabits a lake to which

---

[1] Mathurā architrave, Vogel, *Mathurā school of sculpture*, A. S. I., A. R., 1909-10, pl. XXVII; Bachhofer, *Early Indian sculpture*, pl. 104. Cf. the Babylonian "man-fish," "in Assyrian art a guardian of the tree of life and the source of gushing streams" (Ward, *Seal cylinders* . . . . , pp. 384, 410; Perrot and Chipiez, *Chaldea and Assyria*, 11, figs. 110-112).

[2] Smith, *Jain stūpa of Mathurā*, pl. LVII.

[3] Smith, *ib.*, pl. LXXV, 2.

[4] The *makara*-bodied goat, or "goat-fish" form of the Indian and Persian Capricornus Zodiacal sign has been discussed by Stutterheim, *loc. cit.*, p. 36 f. The combination goat and fish suggests Agni, who has goat forms and is "born of the waters." Cf. the Sumerian goat-fish, symbol of Ea, god of the waters (Ward, *Seal cylinders*, pp. 384, 385, 399).

[5] The legend that all horses were originally winged and sky-faring, but that their wings were cut off by Sālihotra at the request of Indra is told in the *Aśva cikitsita*, 1, 8 (Jayadatta Suni, *The Aśva-vaidyaka* . . . . , Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1887). The case is perhaps parallel to that of the *dig-gajas*; at any rate it would seem from the *Karaṇḍavyūha* that the winged horse (*deva-*)*valāha* originally meant a cloud. Cf. The great king of glory's "horse treasure" Valāhaka (= thunder-cloud), *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, 174, 175: and Goloubew, V., *Le cheval Balāha*, B. É. F. E. O., XXVII.

[6] Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, pp. 102, 103; Bosch, *loc. cit.*

an elephant (*hasti*) has also repaired; *ib.*, 14, 1, is obscure, but it is clear from the whole passage that Garuḍa carries off both the elephant and the monster which is attacking it, with a view to devouring them. I cannot see any reason for interpreting either creature as itself a water-elephant (*jalebha*), as suggested by Charpentier, *Suparṇasage*, pp. 234-7.[1] The story in one form or another has persisted up to modern times; in the final version (Gajendramokṣa, in the *Bhakta-mālā*) Viṣṇu, riding on Garuḍa, appears to rescue the elephant, his devotee, from the clutches of the *grāha*, which represents the "snare of the world." There is a corresponding series of representations in art, from which it only appears that the exact nature of the monster has never been clearly established;[2] thus in the *Nāga Jātaka* medallion at Bharhut (Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. XXV) a giant crab, as in the Jātaka text; at Deogaṛh (Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pl. 252) plainly a crocodile, evidently following the version of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*; at Koramaṅgala (Mysore A. S. R., 1919-20, p. 5, and pl. III) likewise a crocodile (very like a *makara*); so also in the case of the original which must have formed the basis of the cover design of Kipling's *Just So Stories*; and in later paintings (*e. g.*, *Rajput painting*, 1916, pl. XVI) usually a "laithly worm" or hydra. The problem is not of immediate importance from the present point of view.

Varuṇa: the word *makara* occurs in Vedic literature only in the *Vājaseyanī Saṁhitā*, but the later synonymy of *jhaṣa-ketana* with *makara-ketana* (=Kāmadeva) suggests that the horned *jhaṣa* of the Flood legend (ŚBr., I, 8, 1) and the *jhaṣa* of *ib.*, XIII, 6, 2, 20, may be equated with the *makara*, though both occur in the Epic in the list of sea-monsters (*timi*, *makara*, *jhaṣa*, *kūrma*, *grāha*, etc.) that are "Varuṇa's creatures."[3]

---

[1] Unless because the *jalakori* in the story of Nami (Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, p. 43) has the character of a "seizer."

[2] The Epic versions of the story make the *grāha* a tortoise. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, s. v. *grāha*, outdoes all Indian sources in the variety of his renderings.

On the water-elephant, see also Zimmer, H., *Spiel um den Elefanten*, Berlin, 1929, p. 38, note 2.

[3] *Śiṅśumāra* and *śiśumāra*, dolphin or porpoise, occurs in RV., AV., etc. (with *jaṣa* (*sic*) in AV., XI, 2, 25); and in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, where it is glossed as *grāha* by Sāyaṇa. Here *-māra* perhaps = *makara*, cf. Kusinārā = Kusinagara.

Later, Varuṇa is regularly *makara-vāhana*[1] (*e. g.*, *Agni Purāṇa*, Ch. LI), though *makara-ketu* in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III, 52. It is not implausible to suppose that a sea-monster—*jhaṣa* or *makara*—was a symbol or form of Varuṇa at a period earlier than that for which we have positive evidence; the later *vāhanam* may have been originally a theriomorphic form of the deity in person.

It is well known that the fish avatār of Viṣṇu in the Purāṇas derives from the "fish" form of Brahmā-Prajāpati (ŚBr., I, 8, 1, and in the Epic); but in the Brāhmaṇa account, "fish" is a misnomer, for the *jhaṣa* is horned, and "sea-monster" would be a better rendering. That the myth may well be one of much greater antiquity is shown by an allusion to the flood legend in AV., XIX, 39, 8.[2] Hence it is far from implausible to suppose that the sea monster (*jhaṣa* or *makara*) was originally a form or symbol of Varuṇa. The case of the tortoise is analogous to that of the "fish": the form is assumed by Viṣṇu to support Mt. Mandara at the Churning of the Ocean; in ŚBr., VII, 4, 3, 5, and VII, 5, 1, 5, Prajāpati assumes the form of a tortoise, moving in the waters, to accomplish the work of creation (the Churning of the Ocean is of course a creation myth, and we have seen reason to suppose that it is referred to already in the Ṛg Veda); in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, further, the tortoise laid down on the fire-altar, between layers of *avakā* plants representing water, is identified with *rasa*, with the three worlds (sky, air, earth), with Prajāpati, with the sun, and with the breath of life; in the *Vājasaneya Saṁhitā*, XIII, 31, the tortoise is called "lord of waters"; in AV., XIX, 53, 10, as Kaśyapa, the tortoise is again identified with Prajāpati and called "self-existent"; a previous identification of the tortoise with Varuṇa may be reasonably inferred.[3]

[1] Bādāmī reliefs, 6th century, Banerji, R. D., *Bas-reliefs of Bādāmī*, Mem. A. S. I., 25, pl. XI, e; XXI, c; XXIII, a and e; also p. 34 above and pl. 45, fig. 1. Masrūr, Kāṅgṛā, 8th century (with ram's horns), A. S. I., A. R., 1915-16, pl. XXXIV, a; also Bhattacharya, B. C., *Indian images*, pl. XVIII. Liṅgarāja temple, Bhuvaneśvara, 13th century, A. S. I., A. R., 1923-24, pl. XL. As *bīja* of the Tantrik Svādiṣṭhāna Cakra below the navel: "within it is the white, shining, watery region of Varuṇa . . . . seated on a *makara*," Avalon, *Serpent power*, p. 138 and pl. III, and Pt. II, p. 38 f.).

[2] The interpretation is, however, questionable, see Whitney, *Atharva Veda*, H. O. S., vol. 8, p. 961. For the flood legend generally see Hohenberger, A., *Die indische Flutsage und das Matsyapurāṇa*, 1930, and Winternitz, M., *Die Flutsagen des Altertums und der Naturvölker* in Mit. Anthrop. Ges., Wien, XXXI, 1901.

[3] Cf. also Yājñavalkhya, I, 271 ff. and JBr., III, 272 (Akūpāra, cosmic tortoise). While the "fish" survives as the vehicle of Varuṇa, the tortoise becomes that of his river-consort Yamunā.

Similarly in the case of the boar, the third *avatār* of Viṣṇu, who assumed this form for the purpose of raising the earth from the cosmic waters at the commencement of the Varāha Kalpa. In the *Liṅga Purāṇa* the tradition is preserved that it was Brahmā who slept upon the waters, determined to create, assumed the form of a bear, and raised up the earth; so also in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

In ŚBr., XIV, 1, 2, 11, it is Prajāpati who assumes the form of a boar (*emuṣa*) and raises the earth from the cosmic waters; the earth is called his "mate and heart's delight," and we have clearly to do with the cosmic deity and Mother Earth, easily recognizable as corresponding to Varuṇa and Aditi.

Kāmadeva: is identified in the Epic with Pradyumna, son of Kṛṣṇa; in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III, 52, the same Pradyumna and his wife Rati are identified with Varuṇa and Gaurī "holding a lotus of dalliance," and Varuṇa himself has a *makara ketu*, not *vāhana*. Pradyumna-Kāmadeva is likewise in the Epic *makara-dhvaja* or *-ketu*. In mediaeval texts Kāmadeva's constant epithet, synonym, or attribute is *makara-dhvaja* (*e. g.*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III, 73, 20-24), and this is also the name of an aphrodisiac advertised to the present day. It should not be forgotten that Kāmadeva is a Yakṣa (*Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*, Jacobi, p. 39) and identical with the Buddhist Māra (*Buddhacarita*, XIII, 2). Kāma is also a form of Agni, and Agni is born of the waters.

Evidence of an earlier cult of Pradyumna-Kāmadeva has been recognized in the Besnagar *makara-dhvaja* of Śuṅga date (pl. 16, fig. 2, and pl. 45, fig. 3)[1] and the example of unknown provenance but probably similar date here reproduced for the first time (pl. 16, fig. 1) may have the same significance, the mortice showing that this, too, was a standard. Kāmadeva with the *makara-dhvaja* is actually represented with Rati at Bādāmī,[2] at the Kāilāsanātha, Elūrā,[3] and elsewhere; in the *Kādambarī* his image is referred to as painted on a bed-room wall; in two Gandhāra reliefs his daughters bear a *makara* standard,[4] and twice at Sārnāth the same holds good for one of his attendants in a Māra Dharṣaṇa scene.[5]

[1] Cunningham, A. S., Rep., X, p. 42 and pl. XIV; Chanda, R., *Archeology and Vaiṣṇava tradition*, Mem. A. S. I., 5, 1920. The Besnagar *makara* may have had a rider, as suggested by Bhandarkar in A. S. I., A. R., 1913-14, p. 191, but if so it must have been of the dwarf Yakṣa type, common in reliefs, and certainly not a Garuḍa.

[2] Banerji, R. D., *Bas-reliefs of Bādāmī*, Mem. A. S. I., 25, 1928, p. 34.

[3] Burgess, A. S. W. I., V, 1883, pl. XXVI, 2.

[4] Foucher, A., *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, II, p. 196, figs. 400, 401.

[5] Sahni and Vogel, *Catalogue* . . . . , C(a)1 and C(a)5, pp. 184, 191.

Inasmuch as the *makara* generally means the waters, hence more specifically the essence in the waters (*rasa* in its various equivalents, sap, semen, Water of Life, etc.), and virility (*vīrya*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III, 52), the association of the *makara* with Kāmadeva or any deity of fertility is quite appropriate.

It has already been remarked that the epithet *jhaṣa-ketana* both in Sanskrit and Hindī sometimes replaces the usual *makara-dhvaja*; Monier Williams cites Kuvalayānanda, 33, with the double meaning "god of love" and "the sea." Hence it is perhaps significant of a quite early association of the sea monster with Pradyumna-Kāmadeva that in the list of symbolical victims, SBr., XIII, 6, 2, 20, there is assigned to the *jhaṣa* a "sportive woman."

Yakṣas and Yakṣīs: nearly all the vehicles by which these vegetal divinities, the primary theme of the present treatise, are supported, can be directly or indirectly shown to be connected with the waters, and this forms part of the evidence available for the view (see p. 34 above) that Yakṣas and Yakṣīs should be identified with the Gandharvas and Apsarases as originally conceived, that is to say as primarily connected with the waters, and secondarily with vegetation.

Even the horse (*Yakṣas*, I, pl. 5, fig. 1), it will be remembered, is "water-born" and connected with Varuṇa: and the elephant (*ib.*, pl. 3, fig. 2, and pl. 4, fig. 2) may be a sky elephant, that is to say, a cloud. On the other hand, the dwarf Yakṣa vehicle (*ib.*, pl. 3, fig. 1, and pl. 4, fig. 1) seems to represent a gnome or earth spirit, cf. the Yakṣa Atlantes, here plate 8, figure 2. But it is noteworthy that the *makara* is the commonest of all the vehicles (*ib.*, pl. 6, figs. 1 and 2, pl. 19, and see p. 47 above) and next in frequency are the fish or *makara*-tailed forms of terrestrial animals, particularly the water-horse (*jala-turaga*) and water-elephant (*jalebha*, *jala-hastin*); the latter form occurring also in the Plant style only less often than the *makara* as the source of lotus vegetation.

As noted below, when the *nadī-devatās*, who in the earliest representations are primarily distinguished by carrying a *puṇṇa-ghaṭa* (never a Yakṣa attribute) are later specifically differentiated as Gaṅgā and Yamunā, the former retains the *makara*, the latter is given a tortoise. Iconographically the differentiated forms of the river goddesses (in northern India only) is directly derived from that of the Yakṣī-dryad, and this implies that the latter, despite the vegetal and apparently terrestrial habitat, was still primarily a spirit of the waters.

Other deities: In at least one case the Moon, in a Navagraha group,[1] has a *makara* vehicle, and this is comprehensible through the common identification of the moon with Soma and the close connection of both with Varuṇa. Pārvatī, at Elūrā, as Umā performing the *pañcâgni tapas*, is represented with a *makara* vehicle.[2] There is a curious Pāla figure, perhaps also Pārvatī, at Jamir, Monghyr District, Bengal;[3] the goddess is seated on a lotus, has a lion cognizance, and is four-armed, with a cup in the lower right hand, *triśūla*-handled bell in the upper right, a *makara-dhvaja* in the upper left, and a nude child in her lap supported by the lower left. There is also a rare coin of Samudragupta, with a standing goddess on a *makara vāhanam*, with a long-stalked lotus in her right hand, and a crescent-topped standard beside her; Burgess called her Pārvatī, Allan says Gangā,[4] and either identification is possible. That Pārvatī is sometimes called the sister of Gangā, that in the *Agni Purāṇa*, Ch. LXIV, she is said to accompany Varuṇa, and Vāruṇī is sometimes replaced by Gaurī, offers perhaps sufficient explanation. According to Monier Williams, Varuṇāvī is a synonym of Lakṣmī. The goddess with a *makara* vehicle published by Vogel[5] may be Pārvatī or Gaurī, or possibly Vāruṇī. The only other deity who to my knowledge is connected with the *makara* is the ninth Jāina Tīrthaṅkara, who has this cognizance.

5 THE LOTUS

It is not intended here to present an exhaustive account of the place of the lotus in Indian culture and art, but only to discuss the points that are most relevant to the present enquiries. Texts already cited (above, p. 23) from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* show that the lotus was primarily understood to represent the Waters; secondarily also, inasmuch as the flower and still more obviously the leaf rest on the waters, the earth—for the earth is conceived of as resting on the back of the waters, and supported by the waters, which extend on

[1] I have the photo, but have mislaid the reference. In another Navagraha group from Bengal, published in the A. R. Varendra Res. Soc., 1928-9, the Moon's vehicle is also probably a *makara*, but the animals are not easily recognizable. Varuṇa is regarded as the presiding deity of the Moon (see Bhattacharya, B. C., *Indian images*, p. 32).

[2] Burgess, A. S. W. I., V, pl. XXX, 2.

[3] Burgess, *Ancient monuments*, pl. 225.

[4] Burgess, A. S. W. I., II, pl. VII, 2; Allan, *Cat. coins Gupta dynasties, Brit. Mus.*, pl. II, 14 (a true *makara*, not elephant-headed as stated *ib.*, p. 17). Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 118; also *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III, 52.

[5] *De makara en de voor-indische beeldhouwkunst*, p. 273.

either side of it. These related and by no means far-fetched interpretations sufficiently account for the use of the expanded lotus flower in iconography and architecture as the typical basis or support of a figure or building. I allude here (1) to the familiar *padmāsana* and *padma-pīṭha* of Indian images and the corresponding "bell-capitals"[1] of supporting columns, and (2) to the usual lotus petal mouldings of architectural basements, whereby it seems to be implied that the whole building is supported by a widely extended lotus flower, that is to say, by the earth, and in the last analysis by the Waters. Furthermore, the lotus is represented as a direct source of wealth, as in the case of the *padma nidhi* of Kubera (pl. 1, and pl. 46, fig. 1), and the *ratana mañjarīkās* of Bharhut and Sāñcī (p. 4 and pls. 11 and 13). These meanings and values do not at all exclude that of the implication of birth in the Waters, conspicuous in the case of *Śrī-Lakṣmī*, who is the earliest divinity to be constantly represented with *padma-pītha* or *padmâsana*, though in the case of other deities not so directly born from the waters, the idea of support seems to be indicated rather than that of "divine birth," which has hitherto been the usual interpretation; on the other hand, the more edifying symbolism of purity, drawn from the fact that the lotus leaf is not wetted by the water that it rests on, nor is the flower soiled by the mud from which it springs, belong to a later cycle of ideas, and only come in with the sectarian, Buddhist and devotional developments.

Our attention is next called to the fact that in the early "decorative" art, which from our point of view should rather be regarded as an iconography of the Water Cosmology, the Plants, whose virility and healing powers are so much stressed in the literature, are almost invariably represented by the lotus, no doubt because of its directly evident origin in the Waters. So, too, the lotus represents the Tree of Life; this cosmic tree which sprang originally from the navel of Varuṇa, bearing the deities within its branches (presumably thought of as those of an actual tree), when later it is represented (in the *Mahābhārata* and in late Gupta and early medieval art, see above, pp. 2, 3) as rising from the navel of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu and bearing Brahmā (pls. 11, fig. 4, and 47, fig. 1), has always the form of a lotus, whence Brahmā's epithets Abjaja, and Abjayoni, "born of the water-born," *i. e.*, of the lotus.

Except in the case of the lotus medallions, representing the upper surface of a single flower, it is the whole lotus plant that is generally

[1] I have dealt with this point fully in *Early Indian iconography*, in Eastern Art, I, p. 170, and in the Indian Historical Quarterly, VI, 373.

represented in art. This whole plant, in Nature, consists of a rhizome, with nodes at regular intervals, each node provided with small scale leaves and rootlets, and giving rise to numerous larger leaves and flowers which rise to the surface of the water; in other words, there is a creeping submerged root-like stem which throws off flowers and leaves at intervals, but there is no branching stem, and the stalk of each flower or leaf rises directly from the rhizome. Bearing these facts in mind, it is easy to recognize in the ordinary lotus spray, whether rising from a vase of plenty and/or forming a vegetative meander springing from a vase, a conch, a *makara's* jaws, a Yakṣa's mouth, or a Yakṣa's or Viṣṇu's navel, a portion of the whole plant; innumerable examples of all these types are illustrated in the accompanying plates. As to these points of origin, we have seen that the navel is regarded typically the procreative center,[1] and all the rest imply and represent the Waters. The majority of these characteristic points of origin persist in the art from the earliest to modern times (cf. pl. 5, fig. 2); at the same time the lotus prototype can be recognized even when decorative modifications of the vegetative forms result in motifs no longer obviously of lotus origin, for the nodes are always clearly traceable. An extensive work on Indian decorative art is much needed; and so far as the vegetative ornament is concerned, such a book would be almost entirely occupied with forms of obviously or derivately lotus origin. The palmettes, for example, so characteristic at Bharhut and Sāñcī, consist of lotus leaves and flowers rising from a single node (pls. 43, fig. 5; 44, fig. 4); the purely Indian acanthus-like motifs of Āndhra and Gupta art are directly derivable from simpler forms of ribbed and folded lotus leaves seen at Sāñcī; and finally, the remarkable garland motif so magnificently developed at Amarāvatī is nothing more than a decorated lotus rhizome.

The last formula, that of a "garland" borne by dwarf or normal Yakṣas, or more rarely by Yakṣa *mithunas*, needs to be considered at somewhat greater length. The true nature of the motif in its later forms is not immediately evident; Vincent Smith called it a bulky tinsel roll. By him and others it has been regarded as a form of the Roman and Syrian, especially Alexandrian, motif of a garland borne by Erotes, though as remarked by Vogel, "by what route or means this popular motif reached India is still a mystery."[2] Vogel at the

[1] The other observed sources from which there spring lotus meanders are (1) the water elephant (*jalebha*), (2) what is apparently a terrestrial elephant, but as shown above, p. 4, is more probably intended for a sky elephant or cloud.

[2] Smith, V. A., *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, ed. I, p. 384; Vogel, J. Ph., *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pp. 79-81.

same time mentions only incidentally one of the main clues to its real character, calling attention to the fact that the "bizarre garland," typically at Amarāvatī, but also at Mathurā (I, 3 in the Mathurā Museum), is frequently made to issue from the open jaws of a *makara*. To be more precise it issues or is dragged forth by Yakṣas,[1] or in one case by Srī-Lakṣmī, from the open jaws of a *makara* (*i. e.*, from the waters), or alternatively, from the open mouth of a dwarf Yakṣa, implying an origin from the *mukhya-prāṇa*, or from the waters, as observed above, p. 24. Now these curious and certainly not accidental points of origin of the "garland" are precisely two of the four common points of origin of the normal and unmistakable lotus meander, as met with at Bharhut, Sāñcī, at Amarāvatī, and later; we have remarked already that the lotus meander is a rhizome, with leaves and flowers springing from the regularly spaced nodes, as in Nature. And further, our "garland" itself is provided with nodes at regular intervals, and though at Amarāvatī realism is neglected in the interests of decorative symmetry, the scale leaves being duplicated, so that the indication of direction of growth is lost, a comparison of the forms presented by the node and scale leaf successively at Bharhut, Sāñcī, and Amarāvatī (pl. 40, figs. 1-3, cf. pl. 37, figs. 3 and 5) presents us with an altogether convincing evolutionary series.

It is thus beyond doubt that the motif in question is really that of a lotus rhizome originating in the waters and borne by Yakṣas.[2] But whereas at Bharhut and Sāñcī the rhizome itself is represented simply as a smooth round "stem," the stem at Amarāvatī is most elaborately decorated, and the representation is modified in the interests of symmetry and of the spaces to be filled with figure groups, with omission of the flowers and leaves, duplication of the nodal scale leaves (pl. 40, fig. 3); and in some cases the termination of the garland is made to correspond to its origin, so that it seems to enter at one end the mouth of a dwarf Yakṣa or the jaws of a *makara*. The symmetrical arrangement last referred to is often to be seen at Amarāvatī in the case of the normal lotus meander (pl. 38). It may also be remarked that while the lower nodes of the roll are more formally ornamented

---

[1] Vogel, *Le makara dans la sculpture de l'Inde*, p. 141, ascribes all these features to the "fantaisie du sculpteur indien." This seems to me contradictory to the whole character of Indian art—the more we know about it, the more its formulae reveal, not indeed "quelque sens mystique," but certainly "quelque sens symbolique," *i. e.*, definite in significance. Cf. above, p. 13, note 1.

[2] This was first pointed out in *Early Indian iconography, II*, Eastern Art, I, pp. 187/8.

and less realistic than the upper, one naturalistic feature, that of the rootlets, is markedly developed (pl. 37, fig. 5).

The symmetrical tendencies above alluded to result sometimes in a treatment of the lower node such that it is made to consist of paired addorsed approximated *makara* jaws, the bodies being omitted, and the "garland" proceeding from the open jaws both to right and left (pls. 4, fig. 1, and 37, fig. 5); it would be more correct to say that in such cases the node is replaced by two points of origin, and that the direction of growth is ignored. It is conceivable that by this time a consciousness of the significance of the motif had been lost, as we may assume to have been the case later when the formula of addorsed *makara* jaws occurs in Gupta and medieval art (pl. 39, fig. 2).

The Mathurā examples (Smith, *loc. cit.*, pl. LXXXVII, C; Vogel, *loc. cit.*, pls. V, a, and LX, a; here pl. 12, fig. 3) provide us with intermediate and less elaborately decorated or symmetrically modified forms than those of Amarāvatī, and occupy their natural place in the chronological stylistic development, offering at the same time additional evidence of the close connection between the art of Amarāvatī and that of Mathurā during the middle and latter part of the second century A. D., established on other grounds by Bachhofer.[1]

The formula occurs also in Gandhāran art, generally as an imbricated roll-garland borne by Erotes, with a total omission of the nodes; the Erotes usually face each other in pairs, instead of moving in one direction as in all Indian examples. The Gandhāran examples cannot be exactly dated, but there is no reason to suppose that any antedate the second century A. D.

It is not proposed to discuss here the relation of the Indian and Western Asiatic examples of the "garland"; it will be seen, however, that the motif may well be of Indian rather than of western origin, and in view of the other very plain traces of Indian influence that have been recognized in Alexandrian art, there would be nothing surprising in this.[2]

---

[1] Bachhofer, L., *Early Indian sculpture*, pp. 61, 110.

[2] Cf. Berstl, H., *Indo-koptische Kunst*, Jahrb. as. Kunst, I, 1924; Dimand, M., *Indische Stil-Elemente in der Ornamentik der syrischen und indischen Kunst*, O. Z., IX, pp. 201-215, and *Die Ornamentik der ägyptischen Wollwirkereien*, 1924; Strzygowski, *Les éléments proprement asiatiques dans l'art*, Rev. des Arts Asiatiques, VI, 1930, p. 33—"l'expansion de l'art asiatique en Europe, expansion à laquelle Alexandre avail si largement ouvert les portes . . . . et qui apporta sur la Méditerranée le patrimoine artistique du mazdaïsme."

6. VASES OF PLENTY, OR BRIMMING VESSELS

We shall drain the well full of water,
That never is exhausted, never faileth.
—RV., X, 101, 5 and YV., IV, 2, 5.

Throughout the history of Indian art the full vessel (*pūrṇa kalaśa*, *puṇṇa ghaṭa*, etc.) is the commonest of all auspicious symbols, employed equally by all sects, and occurring not only in India proper, but also in Farther India and Indonesia.

The earliest examples are found at Bharhut and Sāñcī, in connection with the representations of Śrī-Lakṣmī; we find (1) the goddess standing or seated on a lotus, (2) the same, but the lotus rises from a *puṇṇa ghaṭa*, and (3) the *puṇṇa ghaṭa* alone, with a mass of lotus flowers and leaves rising from it. The three types are apparently equal and synonymous symbols of abundance, and it may be that the vase alone should be regarded as an aniconic symbol of and equivalent to the goddess herself.[1] In Jāina art the *puṇṇa ghaṭa* is one of the Aṣṭamaṅgala, or Eight Auspicious Symbols (pl. 31, fig. 2) and also one of the fourteen lucky dreams of Tisalā. The full vessel is carried as a symbol by some divinities, *e. g.*, by Nāgas (pl. 33, fig. 4) and by river-goddesses. It is used in the worship of deities and the reception of human guests and in the festival decoration of cities and shrines.[2] In the case of shrines also, a pair of full vessels are commonly placed at entrances, as constantly seen for example, on Amarāvatī reliefs representing stūpas; or a frieze may consist entirely of a row of full vessels represented in relief. As an integral architectural motif it occurs in rich and varied forms as an essential part, generally the

[1] For further illustrations, see my *Early Indian iconography, II, Śrī-Lakṣmī*, in Eastern Art, I, 1929, pl. XXIV. Cf. Dhiṣaṇā as (1) a goddess of abundance and a "mother," and (2) as soma-vessel and figuratively soma-juice (Johannsen, K. F., *Ueber die altindische Göttin Dhiṣaṇā* . . . . , pp. 26-28).

[2] Innumerable examples could be cited from the literature of all periods and sects from the Sūtra period onwards; I cite only a few; viz, from the Bee-song of Sūrdās, when the gopīs are welcoming Udho, they "set before him full golden jars, and circumambulated him"; in *Mahāvaṁsa*, XXXI, 40, "A thousand beautiful women from the city, with the adornment of fair full vessels (*supuṇṇa-ghaṭa-bhūṣāyo*) surrounded the car containing the relics"; *Maṇimekhalai*, Bk. 1, "Do therefore decorate the city, the great royal roads, and the halls of faultless learning; put in their appropriate places full jars, seed-vessels with budding sprouts, and statues holding lamps"; AV., III, 12, 8, at the dedication of a house, "Bring forward, O woman, this full jar" and XIX, 53, 3, where a full vessel is "set upon time." In the *Harṣacarita*, VIII (§ 227), "a golden vessel adorned with sprays" is set on the altar of a Brahmanical temple. For the use in modern Brahmanical ritual see Burgess, J., *The ritual of Rāmeśvaram*, Indian antiquary, XII, 321, where a decorated *kumbha* represents king Varuṇa.

capital or sub-capital, of monolithic or structural columns (pls. 17, figs. 2, 3; 32, fig. 1) or as the support of a pilaster (pls. 27, fig. 2; 42, fig. 2). It constitutes the well-known pot-and-foliage capital of medieval Indian architecture, a form that has generally been regarded as a development from the old "bell" capital; but while it is possible that the capital as such has originated in this way, this must not be thought of as an origin of the motif itself, which is already fully developed in Śuṅga art.

The *pūrṇa kalaśa* is plainly thought of as an inexhaustible vessel, but the actual form, always associated with vegetation, should I think be clearly distinguished from that of the plain jars sometimes carried by the early undifferentiated river goddesses, and also from that of the *amṛta* phial borne by Indra and some other deities, though these simpler vessels likewise are of necessity thought of as inexhaustible. As seen in outline or relief, the *pūrṇa-kalaśa* is generally a globular vessel with a foot, and a constricted neck; the body of the vessel is invariably encircled by a ribbon or other band, tied with knots and serving the purposes of a magical "fence" (see J. A. O. S., vol. 48, p. 273); from the mouth there rises a spray or bunch of lotus flowers and leaves, almost invariably so arranged that a pair of flowers or leaves hang over symmetrically on each side of the mouth, like the volutes of a palmette. Very commonly, and especially when narrow vertical spaces are available for the reception of symbolic ornament, the vegetative element is extended upwards to a considerable height, either as a conventional candelabra-like tree, or as a long spray of lotus, bearing flowers and leaves, and enclosing or framing birds and beasts in its convolutions (for some of these types, see pls. 14, fig. 2, and 42, fig. 1).

Thus the form is essentially that of a flower vase, combining a never-failing source of water with an ever-living vegetation or tree of life. The type is of the widest distribution in later art, and it can always be identified by the symmetrically placed lateral over-falling leaves or flowers. Examples are common in the art of the Renaissance, and the Persian vase carpets may also be cited; these forms must originate either from the Indian, or from cognate forms in Western Asia, if such existed equally early.

The vase of plenty described above is clearly a life symbol, and the formal offering of such a vase can only be the expression of a wish that the recipient, or in general all those present, may enjoy health, wealth, and long life. The representation in art implies similarly a desired instigation by suggestion of all the vegetative energies in-

volved in the current conceptions of well-being; as a symbol it clearly belongs to the order of ideas characteristic of the ancient life cults of fertility and fruitfulness.

As the motif has had a continuous history from the Śuṅga period onwards, and there is not the slightest reason to suppose that it was either invented or borrowed precisely at the moment when stone came into use as a building material, we must infer an antecedent history of the motif on Indian soil. It is further, a general law that the farther we go back in tracing any Indian ornamental motif, the clearer become its character and meaning, and it may be said, since we are unable as a rule to approach a period of definite beginnings, that to go back still farther would lead us to still more definite and consciously employed forms. This is no more than a parallel to what has already been recognized in the literature, where from later sources we recover trace of a once more consistent mythology and ritual of the chthonic vegetative powers.

Since we cannot expect to recover many actual documents of pre-Maurya art in impermanent material, particularly wood, it will be pertinent to call attention to the Mesopotamian analogy of the Flowing vase, which gradually developed into a vase of vegetation; for a similar evolution may very well have taken place in India. In the representations of this " merveilleux symbole qui était comme le *Saint-Graal* de l'épopée chaldéenne," to quote the words of one of the greatest scholars of Sumerian antiquities, there can be recognized an " evolutionary " and more or less chronological sequence of types. At first there are plain globular vases, held by standing or seated personages, one hand below, the other on the vase (Heuzey, *loc. cit.*, pl. V). Then comes the typical and very beautiful form, that of a vase from which spring two undulating streams of water, to right and left; these are held by male or female genii of the waters, represented in sculpture or metal-work, *e. g.*, the beaker of Gudea,[1] or by a divinity represented on seal cylinders, *e. g.*, Heuzey, *loc. cit.*, p. 41, and Ward, *Seal cylinders*, Nos. 286, 650, etc., in some cases numbers of such flowing vases may be arranged symmetrically to form an all-over design (pl. 41, fig. 3). Occasionally a small vegetative sprout is shown between the two rising streams, and this later develops into an ear of corn. Sometimes four streams are represented; very often accompanied by fish, perhaps as a symbol of Ishtar, or simply to emphasize the sense of the water. Finally we get a vase of a somewhat different shape, having a tall central sprout and two lateral volutes,

[1] Unger, No. 47.

which seem to represent the original streams of water (Ward, No. 203; here pl. 27, fig. 1); these vases are offerings set before a deity (Heuzey, p. 163; Unger, No. 59; Ward, Nos. 421, 1235). We thus arrive at a form at least analogous to the Indian, inasmuch as it is a vase of vegetation, with symmetrical over-falling volute-like elements on either side; and it may be suggested that perhaps the Indian form has been developed from an older type of actually flowing vase, analogous to that of the early Chaldean art.

7. BOWLS ON FIGURE-PEDESTALS

The Mathurā school of sculpture has yielded numerous examples of large ornamented bowls supported by figure pedestals; the supporting figures are either Yakṣa or Yakṣī groups, or a form suggesting Śrī-Lakṣmī or some analogous goddess of plenty. Two of these monolithic bowl pedestals, known as the Stacy and the Pāli Khēṛā groups, have often been described, and have been recently discussed again by Vogel,[1] in relation to several other pieces, viz., an inscribed bowl from the Pāli Khēṛā site, a bowl-bearing head[2] from the Jamna Bāgh site, and the complete female figure now in the Museum of the Bharata Kalā Pariṣad at Benares. A number of other examples are known: (1) a damaged bowl supported by four female figures wearing heavy anklets and more or less inebriated, the whole probably originally a little over two feet in height,[3] (2) the Kota group now, like the last, in the Indian Museum, Calcutta; the pedestal consists of "two females standing side by side under a large (*aśoka*) tree, which is fully represented at the back of the stone." This group was described by Cunningham[4] who further remarks that "it is quite possible . . . . that the top of each of these Bacchanalian groups was only a hollow bowl," (3) a badly damaged group of Mathurā origin found at Tusaran Bihār, the pedestal consisting of eight figures, almost or quite nude, and apparently intoxicated; leaves falling over the shoulder of one of the male figures show that the group was represented as standing beneath a tree, and Cunningham remarks that "it

[1] *La sculpture de Mathurā;* Ars Asiatica, XV, 1930, pp. 52-56, "Porteurs de vase."

[2] Cf. the bowl-bearing head in a Brahmanical cave at Lonād, A. S. I., N. I. S., V, 1883, pl. XLV.

[3] Chanda, R. P., *The Mathurā school of sculpture,* A. S. I., A. R., 1922-23, p. 167 and pl. XXXVIII, b.

[4] Cunningham, A. S., Reports, XX, pp. 48-50. This piece seems to have been sheltered by a "four-pillard maṇḍapa."

is almost certain that these groups may have formed the support of a bowl";[1] (4) the figure of Śrī-Lakṣmī, B 89 in the Lucknow Museum, here pl. 49, may very possibly have supported a bowl.[2]

The character of the pedestal figures in all these cases would appear to be anything but Buddhist, and is not in fact Buddhist. But we are already accustomed to the constant presence of un-Buddhistic representations in connection with Buddhist monuments, and in any case the inscriptions preserved on two of the pieces, viz., the Pāli Khēṛā bowl (*saṁghiyanaṁ parigaha* . . . . , "for the acceptance of the community") and the Jamna Bagh head (dedication to the Suvaṇṇakāra-vihāra) prove beyond doubt a Buddhist use. Vogel, *loc. cit.*, p. 54, has suggested that the vases supported on pedestals represent the Buddha's begging bowl, and were set up to receive offerings of the faithful, and cites a similar practise in Burma. Against this we have the facts: (1) the vases are unlike a begging bowl (*piṇḍa-pātra*) in form, (2) the ornamentation of a begging bowl is explicitly forbidden by Vinaya rule, and (3) the associated figures on the pedestals are always connected with the idea of a liquid, either an intoxicating liquor or pure water; they are in fact genii of living waters, either Yakṣas, Yakṣīs, or forms of or related to Śrī-Lakṣmī. Certain of these facts suggest a comparison with a Chaldean font described by Heuzey;[3] in any case, they suggest that the bowls were meant to contain water.

Rejecting several other possibilities hardly compatible with Buddhist usage,[4] it seems to me far more plausible to suppose that we have to do with water bowls than with alms bowls. Such water bowls, called *ācamana-kumbhī* or *ācāma-kumbhī* were regularly placed at the entrances to Buddhist shrines, to hold water for washing the hands and feet of the visiting worshipper.[5] This interpretation, moreover, better accords with the historical tradition suggested by the Babylonian "bassins," cf. Heuzey, *loc. cit.*, p. 151.

Whether interpreted as *piṇḍa pātras* or as *ācamana-kumbhīs* it seems a little strange that the bowls or figure pedestals should be

---

[1] Cunningham, A. S., Reports, XI, p. 65 and pl. XX.

[2] For this figure, see Cunningham, A. S., Reports, I, p. 240 and pl. XL; my *H. I. I. A.*, fig. 74; *Early Indian iconography, II, Śrī-Lakṣmī*, in Eastern Art, I, 1928-9, fig. 22; Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. L.

[3] *Le bassin sculpté et le symbole du vase jaillisant*, in *Les origines orientales de l'art*, pp. 149 ff.

[4] *E.g.*, the bowl (*kuṇḍa*) to be used as a rain gage (*varṣamāna*) in front of a granary, Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, II, 5.

[5] *Mahāvagga*, I, 25, 19; *Cullavagga*, V, 35, 4; *Thūpavaṁsa*, LIV, 2; Geiger, W., *Mahāvaṁsa* (translation, p. 185, note 3).

confined to the Mathurā school and Kuṣāna period—though the few known examples of stone *yūpas* provide a parallel case. It hardly seems as though such an elaborate, sophisticated and unique form could have been invented suddenly, or that the constancy of type of the pedestal figures—genii of vegetation, liquor, and abundance—could be accidental; nor can the functional necessity have existed only a brief period. It may perhaps be inferred that earthenware water bowls had previously been set up at the entrance to Buddhist or other shrines (in all such ritual matters the Buddhist cult inherits rather than invents) upon carved wooden pedestals; and that later, after the decay of Buddhism, a simple earthenware bowl without any elaborate stand must have sufficed.

8. RIVER GODDESSES AND NYMPHS

We have already observed that Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, though deities of vegetation, are constantly, though not invariably, provided with supports representing mythical aqueous animals, notably the *makara*, more rarely the fish-tailed horse (*jala-turaga*), elephant (*jalebha*), or lion, or the flower of a lotus; and we have naturally assumed that this is an indication of the intimate connection of these deities of fertility with the life-giving Waters. Figures of this kind occur not only singly on pillars, pilasters, and stelae of various kinds, but also in pairs (affronted or addorsed) as bracket figures supporting the architraves of structural *toraṇas*; such pairs without vehicles are found on the Sāñcī *toraṇas*, with elephant or other vehicles at the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā, but for our purpose the Bharhut example (chamfer reliefs, two *śālabhañjikā* Yakṣīs supported by lotus flowers),[1] and another from the Kankālī Tīlā site (architrave bracket fragments, two female figures supported by *makaras*)[2] are more significant.

Later, towards the close of the Gupta period and thereafter, we meet with similar pairs of goddesses, sometimes with identical, sometimes with differentiated vehicles, placed at the bases of the jambs of doorways. The manner in which such figures have found their way from their originally functional position as architrave brackets, to that of *dvārapālas* at ground level can be clearly traced. The case of

[1] Unpublished part of a pillar, above the medallion reproduced by Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. XXXIII, 4. This seems to be the only early example of a *śālabhañjikā* Yakṣī supported by a lotus, but the type recurs later, *e. g.*, on the verandah pillars of the Rāmeśvaram cave, Elūrā (pl. 21, fig. 2, centre and right), and similarly at Bādāmī, Cave IV.

[2] Smith, *Jaina stūpa of Mathurā*, pl. XXXVI.

the entrance doorway at Nāsik, Cave III (ca. 130 A. D.) is especially instructive; here it is very evident that the monolithic doorway effectively presents the projection of a structural *toraṇa* against a flat wall surface; only the space between the jambs, threshold, and lower architrave (now functioning as lintel), being perforated. It is true that in this instance the *toraṇa* architrave brackets are rampant lions,[1] but we are nevertheless provided with the key to the origin of doorway forms such as those of the Candragupta cave, Udayagiri,[2] where the architraval nature of the lintel is no longer recognizable, but there remain vestigial brackets consisting of paired *śālabhañjikā* Yakṣīs supported by *makaras* at the lintel level. Very numerous examples of the same kind, both goddesses standing on *makaras*, may be seen at Ajaṇṭā (Caves 1, 5, 7, etc.) and at Bāgh, and this seems to be the general rule in the Gupta period. The well-known Besnagar example, from a structural temple, and now in Boston (*Yakṣas*, Pt. I, pl. 14, 2) lacks a mate, but it may be assumed that it had once an exactly corresponding counterpart.[3]

Up to this point no change has taken place in the iconography, except that the *makara* has become more conspicuous, and that dwarf genii are often associated with it; there can hardly as yet be any justification for an identification of the twin figures as the individual goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā. On the other hand at Deogaṛh[4] the goddesses are differentiated, one to the right being supported by a tortoise, one to the left by a *makara;* at the same time the tree is now altogether omitted, there are umbrellas behind the heads of the goddesses, and each seems to hold or to have held a lotus bud. At Tigawā[5] the goddesses are similarly differentiated by their vehicles, but the trees and *śālabhañjikā* pose are retained; in other words, the type is transitional, combining the older and the new iconography.

After this time the paired goddesses are transferred from their no longer functional position at lintel level, to a new position at ground level, where they function as *dvārapālas*, and henceforth throughout

[1] Corresponding lion brackets survive at Ajaṇṭā, Cave IV (A. S. W. I., IV, pl XXIV); and at the Amṛta Cave, Udayagiri, where we have in addition *śālabhañjika* Yakṣis at lintel level, and river goddesses (the vehicles not recognizable) on the jambs.

[2] Vogel, J. Ph., *Ganga et Yamuna dans l'iconographie brahmanique*, Études Asiatiques, pl. 55.

[3] However, no argument can be based on the fact that this is a figure from the right side; for at Bhumara and Aihoḷe the usual relations of the differentiated goddesses are reversed.

[4] Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pl. 249: here pl. 21, fig. 1.

[5] Cunningham, A. S., Reports, IX, p. 46.

the medieval period and subsequently, they appear in this position. But while in northern India the jamb figures are generally differentiated as at Deogaṛh, in southern India, *e. g.*, at Tāḍpatri (*Yakṣas*, Pt. I, pl. 19, 1) the scheme of the twin figures, both supported by *makaras*, is retained. Longhurst,[1] pointing out that the undifferentiated twin figures are not met with south of the Ganjām District, calls them "duplicate figures of Gangā"; but inasmuch as the tree and *śālabhañjikā* scheme is always preserved, that even the *dohada* motif may be retained as at the Subrahmaṇya temple, Tanjore (*Yakṣas*, Pt. I, pl. 19, 2) (the motif also occurs on a pilaster of the Rāj Rāṇī, Bhuvaneśvara), and that the goddess is not provided with a vase or lotus attributes or with an umbrella, it is, as pointed out by Vogel (*loc. cit.*, pp. 397, 398), most questionable whether the designation of river goddess is in any way appropriate.

In the case of the differentiated northern types the correct designation as individual river goddesses is placed beyond doubt (1) by the inscription on the Vāidyanātha temple, Bāijnāth, Kāṅgṛā, in which the figures, still extant, are referred to as Gaṅgā and Yamunā,[2] (2) by inscriptions at Bherā Ghāṭ,[3] and (3) by the description of Varuṇa in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, III, 52, where the river-goddesses attendant on him are called Gaṅgā and Yamunā, and are said to be supported by a *makara* and a tortoise respectively. We have seen reason to think that these animals were originally symbols or forms of Varuṇa himself, and it should be borne in mind that the rivers are at all times spoken of as his consorts.

This leads to a consideration of the special case of the magnificent compositions found at each end of the Varāha shrine at Udayagiri. Each of these represents the flowing of two rivers into the sea, in which stands Varuṇa himself, holding his *ratna-pātra*. These rivers are evidently the Ganges and Jamna, for goddesses are represented standing in each, holding vases, and supported respectively by a *makara* and a tortoise. Between the rivers there is dancing and music (*nṛta-gīta-vāda*). The sculpture is generally dated about 400 A. D. and thus represents probably the earliest known representation of the differentiated goddesses. I see no reason for post-dating the Varāha sculpture merely because the goddesses are differentiated; the less so, inasmuch as the headdress worn by Varuṇa is not far removed from Kuṣāna types. It is true that the change in iconography

[1] Longhurst, *Hampi ruins*, p. 116.

[2] Vogel, *Ganga et Yamuna* . . . . , pp. 387, 388.

[3] Cunningham, A. S., Reports, IX, pp. 66-69.

on shrine doorways seems to be taking place rather towards the end than at the beginning of the fifth century; but the time interval is not excessive, and it may even be the case that the doorway types were affected and changed under the influence of just such representations as those of the Varāha relief, or of its literary sources.

The mediaeval examples of the differentiated type on door jambs are very numerous.[1] The iconography is typically illustrated at Kharoḍ, where each of the goddesses carries a vase of plenty (*pūrṇa-kalaśa*) at shoulder level, and is provided with a dwarf attendant and an umbrella; and at Bajaurā, where each carries a vase of plenty and a long-stemmed full-blown lotus flower, and is provided with a dwarf umbrella-bearer. But at Bajaurā the goddesses both stand on expanded lotus pedestals, which are supported by their vehicles, *makara* and tortoise, though these are almost dissolved in decorative scroll work, and can hardly be distinguished.

Some other representations of river goddess may be more briefly mentioned. At Elūrā there is a well-known shrine of three river goddesses, evidently Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and Sarasvatī; the supports or vehicles are not well preserved, but seem to be a *makara*, a tortoise, and an expanded lotus.[2] At the Cāuṅsat Joginī temple, Bherā Ghāt, there are inscribed figures of Jāhnavī (Gaṅgā) with a *makara*, Yamunā, with a tortoise, and Uhā, perhaps the Sarasvatī, with a peacock.[3] A figure certainly representing Gaṅgā occurs on one of the pillars from Candimau, Bihār; the goddess rides on a *makara* with a floriated tail, and bows towards Śiva, seated on a mountain before her; behind her is an attendant holding the usual long-handled umbrella; above the attendant, in the air, is an unrecognizable object resembling a bull's head (pl. 48, fig. 1).[4]

The river goddess Narbadā or Ṛkṣiṇī occurs with a *makara* pedestal at Tewāṛ and Bherā Ghāṭ, both on the river of the same name.[5]

[1] For Kharoḍ and Bajaurā, see Vogel, *Ganga et Yamuna*, pls. 52-54. Other noteworthy examples include those at Bhumara (Gupta), Mem. A. S. I., 16, 1924, pl. III, a; the Lāḍ Khān and some other temples at Aihoḷe (A. S. I., A. R., 1907-08, pp. 191, 202, and pls. LXXXI, LXXXIX); Rāmeśvaram, Elūrā (A. S. I., N. I. S., V, p. 39 and pl. V); unknown source, Diez, *Zwei unbekannte Werke der indischen Plastik* . . . . , Wiener Beiträge, I, 1926.

[2] Burgess, in A. S. I., N. I. S., V, p. 34 and fig. 16.

[3] Cunningham, A. S. Reports, IX, pp. 66-69.

[4] Banerji, R. D., *Four sculptures from Candimau*, A. S. I., A. R., 1911-12, pl. LXXIV, 1. Banerji's pillars (2) and (3) are parts of one and the same pillar; his fig. 1 represents the right hand side of fig. 3 on the same plate. The pillars show also, in the lunettes, excellent examples of *kinnaras* and *kīrttimukhas*.

[5] Cunningham, *ib.*, p. 67.

A Gupta coin already alluded to bears the figure of a goddess on a *makara*; she may or may not be Gangā. In eighteenth century Rājput paintings Gangā is represented as a four-armed goddess seated on a fish. On the other hand, when represented in Śiva's matted locks (as usually in Naṭarāja images), Gangā is represented in the form of a mermaid (cf. *gangāvataraṇa*, Elūrā, in A. S. I., N. I. S., V, pl. XXVI, 1). Some female figures with a *makara* vehicle certainly represent Pārvatī (*e. g.*, at Elūrā, *ib.*, pl. XXI, 2).

So far we have considered no evidence for any kind of representation of river goddesses previous to the Gupta period. However, there can be cited from Amarāvatī no less than four reliefs in which river goddesses (*nadī-devatā*) are represented; in all cases they accompany or attend upon a Nāga. Three[1] are found in representations of Kālika's homage to the Bodhisattva as he emerges from his bath in the Nerañjanā; in each case there is a group of river-nymphs bearing vases (either plain, or of the *pūrṇa kalaśa* type) on their heads or in their hands, with which to do honor to the Bodhisattva. In the fourth instance[2] there are paired pseudo-chamfer reliefs on a railing pillar, representing two similar nymphs, each standing on a fish (possibly intended for a *makara*) and bearing a tray of food at shoulder level, and a water vessel carried horizontally; the two are approaching a theriomorphic Nāga, who, coiled amongst lotuses, occupies the central panel of the triptych. The type is of interest from several points of view: (1) it preserves the old formula of paired representations on chamfers, (2) it gives us an undoubted example of duplicate river-goddesses supported by fish or *makara*, (3) the type bringing food and water connects with that of certain undoubted Yakṣīs (pl. 45, fig. 2), with the Deokali caryatide (pl. 18, fig. 3), and less directly with the Śrī-Lakṣmī type of Sāñcī, stupa II,[3] and (4) the water-vessel carried horizontally here and in several of the types just cited, connects with certain representations of the female genii of springs to be referred to below. Thus, the types of the undifferentiated river-goddesses connect on the one hand with those of Yakṣīs or dryads; on the other hand, they exhibit in the vase attribute what may well have been the immediate source of this motif as it appears held by the

[1] Pl. 26, fig. 1: Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, No. 160, p. 21; Vogel, *Indian serpent lore*, pl. VII, a, on the left side.

[2] Pl. 19, fig. 1.

[3] *Early Indian iconography, Pt. II, Śrī-Lakṣmī*, Eastern Art, I, 1929, fig. 16; and here pl. 14, fig. 1, center. But here the food and drink are carried by attendants.

differentiated river-goddesses at the close of the Gupta period and subsequently.

One other type remains to be considered, that of the presiding female divinity of a sacred spring. Reference may first be made to the goddess of a sacred source at Majapahit, Java (pl. 23, fig. 3);[1] she holds in her right hand a bunch of lotuses, and under her left arm a water vessel in the horizontal position above alluded to, and it cannot be doubted that this vessel represents the ever-flowing waters of the source over which she presides. To find a close parallel in India for this type we have to go back to Gandhāran art of perhaps the second or third century A. D.: it is a rather mysterious fact that the Javanese goddess of a spring exhibits a resemblance, amounting to identity, with that of the flower girl Bhadrā or Prakṛtī in several renderings of the Dīpaṅkara legend; she, too, carries (pl. 23, fig. 1)[2] a bunch of lotuses in her right hand, and a water vessel held horizontally under her left arm, precisely as in the Majapahit relief. The flower girl is apparently a human being; she becomes Prince Megha's wife, and remains his wife in all future incarnations up to the attainment of Buddhahood. Still it is difficult to ignore the significance of the names of the chief characters; a girl named Abundance, or Nature, marries a prince named Cloud! Is it not possible that some older story or myth has here been adapted to Buddhist ends? One observes also that the flower girl is found in a marshy place, as might be expected of the divinity of a pond or spring, though it is not necessary to the story; and that she makes her appearance very opportunely, as divinities are apt to do when edifying purposes are to be accomplished. Or in any case the prototype adopted by the sculptor may have been that of a water nymph.

One quite different type of the divinity of a spring has been found at Jagatsukh, Kulū (pl. 23, fig. 2); here the goddess holds a large vase perforated horizontally from back to front to permit the issue of water, and she stands on a *makara*.

---

[1] Krom, N. J., *L'Art javanais* . . . . , Ars Asiatica, VIII, 926, p. 61, and pl. XXXII. Referring to the "tomb tanks" of Erlangga and of Udayana on Mt. Penanggungan, Stutterheim, in J. A. O. S., vol. 51 (in press), remarks "sometimes the water spouts from the breasts of a goddess, sometimes from the *amṛta-jar* and often the whole scene is decorated with representations from the story of Garuḍa and the *amṛta*."

[2] For the whole composition, see HIIA., fig. 92.

Other illustrations of the legend, A. S. I., A. R., 1907-08, pl. XLII, d, and 1909-10, pl. XVI, c; Burgess, *Ancient monuments*, pl. 140; cf. Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, I, p. 273 ff. In some cases the water vessel is carried upright. The purely Indian examples are fragmentary or doubtful (Vogel, in A. S. I., A. R., 1909-10, fig. 5 and pl. XXV, c).

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate 1

The well-known *kalpa-vṛkṣa* capital of a *dhvaja-stambha* from Besnagar, usually dated in the third century B. C. The wishing-tree is a banyan (*nyagrodha*), and between the hanging aerial roots will be seen a pot, and two bags, overflowing with money: on the other side of the tree, in a corresponding position, are found a lotus flower and a conch each similarly exuding coins. These last (shown in detail on pl. 47, figs. 1, 2) are clearly the *nidhis* (*śaṅkha* and *padma*) of Kubera. Height 5 ft. 8 in.; Calcutta Museum. India Office photograph.

Plate 2

1. Seated pot-bellied Yakṣa, with curly hair and moustache; he wears a *dhotī*, and is seated with a supporting *paṭṭa* encircling stomach and left knee. Height 3 ft. 8 in. From near Pālī Kherā, Mathurā, now C3 in the Mathurā Museum. Archaeological Survey photograph.
2. Fragment of a railing pillar. Yakṣa under a mango-tree; perhaps Kāmadeva. Height 2 ft. 7½ in. 2nd century A. D. From the Chaubārā mounds, Mathurā, now J7 in the Mathurā Museum. A. K. C. photograph.
3. Fragment of a railing pillar (from a stairway). Yakṣī under tree, with vessels of food and drink. Perhaps a form of *Śrī-Lakṣmī*, cf. my *Early Indian iconography*, 2. *Śrī-Lakṣmī*, in Eastern Art, 1, 1928, figs. 16, 28, and B, C. 2nd Century A. D. Mathurā Museum. A. K. C. photograph.

Plate 3

Relief from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, detail. Standing Buddha with the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi below his right arm; Yakṣa *dvārapāla* with *cāmara* on lower left; on the left, above, as coping relief, a Yakṣa supporting a lotus-rhizome garland drawn from the open jaws of a *makara*. Third century A. D. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photograph by the same.

Plate 4

1. *Mithuna* (Yakṣa and Yakṣī) under a tree, supported by addorsed *makara* heads; from the jaws of one of the latter there emerges a lion. For the paired addorsed *makara* heads, cf. pl. 37, fig. 5, and pl. 39, fig. 2. On the lower left will be noticed a *garuḍa* bracket. From the right end of an architrave from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, third century A. D. Madras Museum.
2. Kubera. Cup in right hand, purse in left (cf. pl. 8, fig. 1, right hand figure), Kuṣāṇa; Mathurā. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

---

[1] When "Amarāvatī" is given as source, it is to be understood that the drawings have been made from the various well-known publications of Amarāvatī reliefs, or more often directly from the series of photos taken by M. Goloubew in the Madras Museum. Nearly all of the drawings have been made by Mr. Sunchiro Tomita.

PLATE 5

1. Relief: Hāritī and Pāñcika, with some of their 500 children. Ajaṇṭā, Cave 11. About 500 A. D.
2. *Makara*, with lotus rhizome. From a Sinhalese knife, eighteenth century.

PLATE 6

MEDIEVAL JAINA IMAGES OF KUBERA AND HIS CONSORT

1, 2. Kubera and Bhadrā, relief images in the Cāmuṇḍaraya Basti, Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. His attributes seem to be a lotus and a citron, hers perhaps the same. The trees, though considerably conventionalized, seem to be banyan and mango. Eleventh century. Mysore Arch. Surv. photograph.
3. Kubera and Bhadrā seated on a bench under a tree, each with a child in the arm. Money pots below the bench. Small seated image of Pārśvanātha above the fork of the tree. About tenth to eleventh century. From Maldeh. India Museum photograph.

PLATE 7

1. *Śālabhañjikā* figure, viz. Yakṣī under a mango tree, forming an architrave bracket of the north *toraṇa*, Sāñcī.
2. Lotus altar for *bali* offerings to Yakṣas (cf. p. 5). From Anurādhapura, Early Medieval, Colombo Museum.

PLATE 8

1. Trinity of Fortune: Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī (*abhiṣeka*) and Kubera, seated on lotus seats on a common stem. About eighth century A. D. University Museum, Philadelphia. Photograph by the same. See The University Museum Bulletin, Vol. 2, 1930, p. 15.
2. Yakṣa Atlantes; verandah of Cave III, Nāsik. Early second century A. D. Cf. *Pethavatthu Atthakathā*, 45, 55, where Yakṣas are called Bhumma deva, "Earth gods." Cf. also *Yakṣas*, I, pl. 13, and Cunningham, *Bharhut*, pl. XV.

PLATE 9

1, 2, 3. Pilasters from the *pākāra* slabs, Jaggayyapeṭa. Left, Yakṣī on fish-tailed elephant (*jalebha* or *jala-hastin*) = pl. 43, fig. 4; center, Yakṣī on fish-tailed horse (*jala-turaga*); right, *padmapāṇi* Yakṣa on fish-tailed lion. Second century B. C. Madras Museum. India office photographs.

PLATE 10

1. Caṁdā Yakhi, under tree, supported by a fish-tailed horse (*jala-turaga*). Bharhut railing pillar, 150-175 B. C. Indian Museum, Calcutta. India Office photograph.
2. Yakṣī under a tree, supported on a cushion on a *makara*; from a railing pillar, Mathurā District. First or second century A. D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Photograph by the same.

PLATE 11

1, 2, 3. Lotus rhizomes bearing flowers, fruits, garment, jewels, etc., and proceeding from the mouth of a (sky-) elephant. The text cited above, p. 4, suggests that the spray is here conceived as "torn by Airāvata from the Wishing-tree of Paradise." Bharhut coping, 150-175 B. C. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Photograph by the same. See p. 4.

4. Viṣṇu Anantaśayana, and the Birth of Brahmā. Cambodian, classical period. Collection of C. T. Loo, Paris.

PLATE 12

1. Architrave, south *toraṇa*, Sāñcī: Yakṣas spouting lotus sprays (rhizome and flowers). Two Yakṣas in the center holding jewelled garlands. India office photograph.

2. Detail of fig. 1. Goloubew photograph.

3. Lotus rhizome borne by Yakṣas, and decoratively treated, providing a transitional type between those of Bharhut and Sāñcī, and Amarāvatī, N1 in the Mathurā Museum, Vogel, *Catalogue* . . . . , pl. IV. About 100 A. D. A. S. I. photograph.

4. The lotus rhizome now fully decorated, drawn from the jaws of a *makara* by a lotus-seated goddess, probably Śrī-Lakṣmī, and supported by a dwarf Yakṣa. Note incidentally the cable moulding above the lotus petal course; like the torus of a "bell-capital," this cable-moulding represents the stamens of the open lotus flower. Madras Museum. India Office photograph.

PLATE 13

1. Similar lotus rhizome, rising from the jaws of a *makara*. Sāñcī, east *toraṇa*. Goloubew photograph. Cf. Smith, *Jaina stūpa of Mathurā*, pl. XXVI.

2. Lotus rhizome, flower and jewel bearing, and framing human figures, two of which are seated on lotus flowers, also animals and birds. The whole spray originates from the navel of a seated dwarf Yakṣa at the base of the pillar, no longer extant, but shown in Fergusson, *Tree and serpent worship*, pl. VIII, and our reproduction, pl. 36, fig. 1. Sāñcī, south *toraṇa*. Goloubew photograph.

PLATE 14

1. Center medallion: Śrī-Lakṣmī or a *nadī-devatā*, amongst lotuses, cf. pl. 2, fig. 3, and pl. 19, fig. 1. Another figure in the doorway above. Right and left, below, lotus rhizome rising from the jaws of *makaras*, and above, from the navels of dwarf Yakṣas. Jamb pillar of railing, stupa II, Sāñcī, first century B. C. or A. D. A. K. C. photograph.

2. Lotus rhizome rising from a full vase (*pūrṇa-ghaṭa*) supported by a dwarf Yakṣa. Stele at Vihāre II, Polonnāruva, Ceylon, medieval. Cf. pl. 42, fig. 1. A. S. C. photograph.

PLATE 15

1. Yakṣas, apparently returning the end of the ornamented lotus rhizome to the mouth of a dwarf Yakṣa. Coping, Amarāvatī, ca. 200 A. D. Madras Museum. India Office photograph.
2. *Makara*, with the ornamented lotus rhizome proceeding from its mouth, and dominated by a dwarf Yakṣa. Coping, Amarāvatī, ca. 200 A. D. Madras Museum. India Office photograph.

PLATE 16

1. *Makara*, limestone, length 21 in., property of K. Minassian, New York. There is a socket in the center of the belly, and an opening extended from the mouth to the socket. This has evidently been a *makara* standard or small *makara dhvaja stambha*, and may have been connected with a temple of Pradyumna (= Kāmadeva) or even Varuṇa. Mr. Minassian possesses another incomplete example of the same kind. Nothing is known of the source, except that both were obtained in northern India. A date about the third or second century B. C. may be conjectured. Museum of Fine Arts photograph.
2. The *makara* of the *makara-dhvaja stambha* from Besnagar[1] (see pl. 45, fig. 3). Length 3 ft. Second century B. C. Gwalior Museum. Gwalior, A. S., photograph.
3. *Makara*, in a railing cross-bar medallion, Mathurā District, ca. second century B. C. Similar examples from Bharhut and Bodhgayā are known. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Photograph by the same.

PLATE 17

Full vases:

1. Full vase (*pūrṇa-ghaṭa*) in center; on each side a conch with a lotus springing from it, a *vardhamānaka* (powder box), and a lotus apparently with a flame rising from it. Early ninth century. Caṇḍi Sewu, Java. A. K. C. photograph. Similar conches with lotuses are used also at Borobuḍur in the scene representing the honoring of the Bodhi-trees previous to the Great Enlightenment.
2. Richly developed full vase as part of a pillar, with dwarf Yakṣas at the sides blowing conches. Eighth century. Indra Sabhā, Elūrā. India Office photograph.
3. A similar richly developed full vase as a pillar capital; verandah of Cave XXIV, Ajaṇṭā. Sixth century. India Office photograph.
4. Wooden tracery window, with full vase with richly developed foliage. Southern India, eighteenth century present position (probably still Chipping Campden, England) unknown. A. K. C. photograph.

---

[1] See Cunningham, A. S., Reports, X, pp. 42, 43, and pl. XIV; Bhandarkar, D. R., in A. S. I., A. R., 1913-14, pp. 189-191 (that the *makara* had a rider is unlikely), and *Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava tradition*, Mem. A. S. I., 5.

PLATE 18

1. One side of the "Pāli Kherā group," C2 in the Mathurā Museum. A Bacchanalian Yakṣa, probably Kubera, seated on a mountain, attended by female cup-bearers, with trees behind, the whole forming the base supporting a bowl, of which only part is preserved. First or second century A. D. Indian Museum photograph.
2. A similar pedestal which served as the support of a bowl, of which only a part is preserved. The two Yakṣīs stand under an *aśoka* tree, which is fully represented at the back of the stone. One of the Yakṣīs holds a parrot. From Koṭā, near Mathurā. Probably second century A. D. See Cunningham, A. S. Reports, XX, p. 50, and pl. III. India Museum photograph.
3. Back and front of a female figure and column supporting a bowl. The female figure suggests Śrī-Lakṣmī and (or) a Yakṣī, cf. pl. 2, fig. 3 (= pl. 45, fig. 2); pl. 14, fig. 1, center.

   Second century A. D. Bhārata Kalā Pariṣad, Benares. Photograph by the same.

PLATE 19

1. Nāga, amongst lotuses, *i. e.*, in water, and attended by *nadī-devatās* supported by fish or *makaras*. Detail from a railing pillar, Amarāvatī, about 200 A. D. Madras Museum. India Office photograph.
2. Left hand part of a scene representing the Buddha's Bath in the Nerañjanā (for the whole see Vogel, *Indian serpent-lore*, pl. VII, a), showing *nadī-devatās* bringing offerings of full vases (*puṇṇa-ghaṭa*) to the Bodhisattva. Detail of a railing pillar, Amarāvatī, about 200 A. D. British Museum. A. K. C. photograph.
3. The Jamna River goddess, Yamunā Devī, supported on a tortoise, and attended by a dwarf with an umbrella, and maid with a basket. Both attendants are supported by fish. Gupta. From Pahāṛpur, Rājshāhi District. A. S. I. photograph.

PLATE 20

Reliefs at the two ends of the Varāha cave, Udayagiri, Gwalior. On the left, the two rivers Jamna and Ganges, with the river goddesses standing respectively on a tortoise and a *makara*, flowing into the ocean, wherein stands a deity, probably Varuṇa, with a vessel. Above the two goddesses, and between the rivers, a dancing scene, with the dancer in the center, surrounded by players on the harp, lute, flute, and drums. Above this, an angel(?) with a garland(?). On the right, a similar composition, omitting the dancing scene. Ca. 400 A. D. India Office photograph enlarged.

PLATE 21

1. Details of the doorway of the Gupta Daśāvatāra temple, Deogaṛh. On the left the river goddess Gaṅgā Devī, supported by a *makara*, an umbrella above her head; on the right Yamunā Devī, supported by a tortoise, and with an umbrella over her head. About 600 A. D. India Office photograph.
2. Left end of the verandah of the Rāmeśvara shrine, Elūrā. On the left, Gaṅgā Devī, with a dwarf, and supported by a *makara*; center and right, pillars with *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* capitals, and *śālabhañjikā* brackets (Yakṣīs under trees). Seventh century. India Office photograph.

PLATE 22

Yamunā Devī, supported by a tortoise, and standing amongst lotuses, under a *makara-toraṇa*, the *makaras* with dwarf Yakṣa riders. Kāilāsa, Elūrā; eighth century. Goloubew photograph.

PLATE 23

1. Detail from a relief (see H. I. I. A., fig. 92) of the Dīpaṅkara Jātaka. Gandhāra, second century A. D. Prince Megha ("Cloud") with a purse is purchasing lotuses from Prakṛti ("Nature"), *alias* Bhadrā ("Plenty," also a name of the consort of Kubera); Prakṛti holds the lotuses in her right hand, a vessel under her left arm (cf. fig. 3 on same plate). Property of K. Minassian, New York.
2. Goddess of a spring, supported by a *makara;* four armed, holding a large vessel perforated from front to back of the slab; a *cāmara* and lotus held in the other hands. Height 28 in. In a temple dated 1428 A. D. at Jagatsukh, Kulū, but the sculpture is probably older. See A. S. I., A. R., 1907-08, p. 267 and fig. 2; and Bhattacharya, B. C., *Indian images*, p. 44 and pl. XXX, fig. 1. Lahore Museum. A. S. I. photograph.
3, 4. Two goddesses of a sacred spring at Mojokerto, Java, now in the Museum at Batavia; both were "adossées au mur âfin de verser à l'éxtérieur l'eau des urnes qu'elles tiennent à la main" (Krom, N. J., in Ars Asiatica VIII, p. 61 and pl. XXXII). The resemblance between one of these (fig. 3) and the Prakṛti of fig. 1 will be remarked. Height of fig. 3 is .72 m. After Krom, *loc. cit.*

PLATE 24

Abhiṣeka of Śrī-Lakṣmī, Rāvaṇa kā Khāī, Elūrā; eighth century. There are four *dig-gajas*, or sky elephants. Right and left of the goddess are four-armed crowned male deities holding vessels; one of these, probably the one on the right who holds a conch in the upper left hand, must be Varuṇa. The predella composition represents a lotus pond, with Nāgas amongst the lotuses, holding full vessels (*pūrṇa-ghaṭa*).

PLATE 25

Half-seen Yakṣas in trees:

1. A *rukkha devatā* offering food and drink; probably an illustration to the Story of the Treasurer, etc., *Dhammapada Atthakathā*, I, 204, see Burlingame, *Buddhist legends*, I, 277. From the Bharhut coping, 150-175 B. C. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Cf. J. R. A. S., 1928, p. 393.
2. Detail from a *Parinirvāṇa*, with a *rukkha-devatā* seen *patreṣv ardhakāyān abhinirmaya* (see *Yakṣas*, I, p. 33, note 1), or *upaddha-sarira* (Jātaka VI, 370). H8 in the Mathurā Museum, Vogel, *Catalogue*, p. 129.
3. As fig. 1 on this plate; from a railing pillar, Bodhgayā, about 100 B. C.
4. Detail from the Sutasoma Jātaka; only the face of the *rukkha devatā* is seen. From wall paintings at Degaldōruwa, nr. Kandy, Ceylon. Eighteenth century. See p. 7.

PLATE 26

1. The Bodhisattva, after the Bath in the Neranjanā, welcomed by the Nāga Kālika, two Nāginīs and a Deva; and above, left, four *nadī-devatās* with full vases, and other deities on the right. The Deva, apparently with matted locks, may be Brahmā. The Buddha is represented by foot-marks on a lotus pedestal, and a fiery pillar surmounted by the *ratnatraya* (cf. Sāñcī, north *toraṇa*, left pillar, outer face). Amarāvatī, about 200 A. D. After Fergusson, *Tree and serpent worship*, pl. LXVII.

   For analogous but more detailed representations of the same scene, see Vogel, *Indian serpent lore*, pl. VII, a (= in part our pl. 19, fig. 1), Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, No. 160, and Krom, *Life of Buddha on the stupa of Bārābudur*, fig. 91 (= in part our pl. 41, fig. 4). In all cases the *nadī-devatās* bear full vases, but in the Boston and Borobuḍur examples without foliage.
2. Presentation of the infant Bodhisattva before the Yakṣa Śākyavardhana, who appears within a shrine. Amarāvatī, about 200 A. D. After Fergusson, *loc. cit.* pl. LXIX. Cf. *Yakṣas*, I, p. 42.

PLATE 27

1. Offering vase with vegetation. Sumerian relief from Susa, third millennium B. C. Original in the Louvre; for the whole, see Unger, E., *Sumerische und akkadische Kunst*, 1926, fig. 59; and cf. Ward, *Seal cylinders of Western Asia*, No. 1235, and Heuzey, *Origines orientales de l'art*,
2. Lower part of a *kumbha-pañjara*, showing a full vase (*pūrṇa-ghaṭa*) with a pilaster taking the place of the central vegetative motifs. Hazāra Rāmacandra temple, Hampi (Vijayanagar); begun A. D. 1513.

PLATE 28

Full vases (*pūrṇa-ghaṭa* or *kalaśa*):
1. Amarāvatī, about 200 A. D.
2. Used as a welcome offering. Story of Sudhana and Ratnacūḍa, Borobuḍur, Java. About 800 A. D. Krom en Erp, *Beschrijving* . . . . . , Series II, pl. XV, No. 30. Cf. our pl. 41, fig. 4.

PLATE 29

Lotus:
1. Rhizome with flowers, buds, and leaves, rising from a full vase. Amarāvatī, about 200 A. D. or earlier. After Fergusson, *Tree and serpent worship*, pl. LXXXIX.
2. The same motif, Sāñcī, north *toraṇa*, left pillar, outer face.
3. The same motif, more formally treated, and combined with addorsed animals (as also commonly at Sāñcī). From a stele near the south *vahalkaḍa*. eastern dāgaba, Anurādhapura, Ceylon.
4. Below, a lotus palmette; above, lotus rhizome springing from a *makara's* jaws, with *haṁsas* perched on the flowers. From a railing pillar, Sārnāth first century B. C.
5. Rhizome with flowers, buds, and leaves, rising from the navel of a dwarf Yakṣa. Sāñcī, first century. A detail from pl. 14, fig. 1.

PLATE 30

Lotus:

1. Rhizome with foliage dissolved in arabesque, rising from the navel of a Yakṣa. Detail from an early Pāla door jamb, Indian Museum, Calcutta.
2. Rhizome with vine and lotus elements, rising from the jaws of a *makara*. Sāñcī, north *toraṇa*, left pillar, outer face.
3. Rhizome with flowers, buds, and leaves, rising from the mouth of a Yakṣa. Amarāvatī, about 200 A. D. or earlier. After Fergusson, *Tree and serpent worship*, pl. LXXXIX.

PLATE 31

Full vases and other symbols:

1. Detail from a Jāina tympanum, showing three *vaddhamānakas*, a *paṇṇa-pacchi* or *paṇṇa-puṭa*, and a *puṇṇa-ghaṭa*. From the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā now J 555 in the Lucknow Museum, see Smith, *Jāina stūpa of Mathurā*, pl. XIX.
2. Details from a Jāina *āyāgapaṭa*, showing the *aṣṭamangala*, from left to right, above, fish, mirror, *sirivaccha*, *vaddhamānaka;* and below, *ratnatraya*, *paṇṇa-pacchi* or *-puṭa*, *bhaddâsana* (?), and *puṇṇa-ghaṭa*. From the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā; now J 249 in the Lucknow Museum; see Smith, *Jāina stūpa of Mathurā*, pl. XC.
3. Detail from a Jaina *āyāgapaṭa*, vine springing from a full vase (*puṇṇa-ghaṭa*). From the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā; now J 253 in the Lucknow Museum. See Smith, *Jāina stūpa* . . . . , pl. X. Cf. *ib.*, pl. XXII.
4. Lotus springing from a full vase, Amarāvatī.

PLATE 32

Full vases:

1. Full vase capital of a pilaster, Daśāvatāra Gupta temple, Deogaṛh.
2. Full vase, from a railing pillar, Sārnāth; first century B. C. Sahni, *Catalogue*. No. D(a)1.
3. Full vase, Amarāvatī: Fergusson, *Tree and serpent worship*, pl. LXXVII.
4. Full vase, Sāñcī, first century B. C.
5. Full vase, Sāñcī, called early Maurya in A. S. I., A. R., 1906-07, p. 79 and pl. XXVIII.

PLATE 33

Full vases and Fountain of Life:

1. Full vase, from an architrave, Mathurā, second century A. D. M3 in the Mathurā Museum; Vogel, *Catalogue* . . . . , p. 163, and A. S. I., A. R., 1909-10, pl. XXVIII, a.
2. Full vase, one of the *aṣṭamaṅgala*, from a fifteenth century Jāina manuscript; Hütteman, *Miniaturen zum Jinacarita*, Baessler Archiv, 1914.
3. Full vase, from an embroidered jacket, Sinhalese, nineteenth century.
4. Full vase, held by a Nāga *dvārapāla*, Anurādhapura.
5. Lions, emerging with vegetation from the jaws of *makaras*, and running towards a flowing full vase (Fountain of Life motif); Amarāvatī, Ca. 200 A. D.

PLATE 34

Lotus and Yakṣa:

1, 2. Two examples of the lotus rhizome, with buds, flowers and leaves, rising from a dwarf Yakṣa's mouth; Bharhut, 150-175 B. C. Fig. 2 is restored.

PLATE 35

Lotus and Yakṣa: the juxtaposition of these examples from Sāñcī and Amarāvātī alone suffice to show the identity of the earlier realistic lotus rhizome and the so-called garland of the Amarāvatī coping. For this identity cf. also pl. 40, figs. 1, 2, 3.

1. Sāñcī, stūpa I, south toraṇa, architrave; first century B. C. A lotus rhizome, bearing flowers, etc., springs from the dwarf Yakṣa's grimacing mouth, narrow at first then swelling to the full size; the Yakṣa's left hand rests on the first node with its scale leaf, while his right hand holds a pearl garland. Another lotus spray springs from his navel. For the whole composition, see pl. 12, fig. 2. Sir John Marshall calls these Yakṣas *kīcakas*, "spouting forth all summer."

2. The same motif from the coping, Amarāvatī, about 200 A. D. As before the rhizome rapidly swells to its full thickness, but it is here elaborately decorated, which disguises its true character; the nodes, too, are decoratively treated (and as shown on pl. 12, fig. 4, made symmetrical rather than realistic). The lower course shows a lotus rhizome with flowers rising from the jaws of a water elephant. The upper course shows a decorative treatment of the expanded lotus seen in profile, the cable motif, as already in Aśokan capitals, representing the stamens (cf. Indian Historical Qtly., VI, p. 373).

PLATE 36

Lotus rhizomes and Yakṣas:

1. Lotus rhizome rising from the navel of a dwarf Yakṣa, from Fergusson, *Tree and serpent worship*, pl. VIII. This is the now missing base of the *toraṇa* pillar shown on pl. 13, fig. 2. Cf. Smith, *Jāina stūpa of Mathurā*, pl. XXVI.

2. Dwarf Yakṣa with exaggerated penis, from a railing pillar, Bodhgayā; about 100 B. C. Cf. pl. 43, fig. 7.

3. Dwarf Yakṣa, with vine springing from the mouth, and held in the hand; from a stone bowl, Mathurā, of Kuṣāna date. See A. S. I., A. R., 1915-16, Pt. I, pl. V, d.

4. Dwarf Yakṣa with lotus rhizome apparently (since the direction of growth is from left to right) reëntering his mouth. Amarāvatī, coping, first century B. C.?

5. Lotus rhizome with nodes and flowers, very simply treated; from the altar in the verandah of the old monastery at Bhājā, early second century B. C.

PLATE 37

Makara and lotus; water-elephant (*jalebha*) and lotus.

1. *Kīrttimukha* (full-face *makara*), with vegetation springing from the jaws. From the Daśâvatâra Gupta temple at Deogaṛh. About 600 A. D.
2. Lotus rhizome with flowers, leaves, and animals, drawn from the jaws of a *makara* by a dwarf Yakṣa; another Yakṣa is using an elephant-goad to open the *makara's* jaws; another *makara* is ridden by a Yakṣa. Amarâvatī, about 200 A. D.
3. *Makaras* with interlocked tails; a lotus rhizome with flowers and leaves springs from the open jaws on the left, and following the direction of growth around the circumference of the medallion, reënters the jaws of the *makara* on the right. Amarâvatī, about 200 A. D. Cf. Smith, *Jaina stupa of Mathurā*, pl. X.
4. Lotus rhizome with flowers, buds, and leaves, springing from the jaws of a water-elephant (*jalebha*). Amarâvatī, about 200 A. D. Compare pl. 40, fig. 4, and contrast pl. 11, figs. 1 and 3.
5. Decorated lotus rhizome springing from *makara* jaws; a combination of the decorated node and source themes, treated symmetrically. Note also the rootlets, which hang from the node. Amarâvatī, coping; about 200 A. D. The motif seems to occur first at Mathurā, see Smith, *Jaina stupa of Mathurā*, pl. IX. For the addorsed *makara* heads, cf. pl. 4, fig. 1, and pl. 39, fig. 2.

PLATE 38

1, 2, 3. Lotus rhizome, with leaves, flowers and buds, running between affronted *makaras*. From the direction of growth it will be seen that the spray rises from the jaws of one and enters the jaws of the other *makara*.

PLATE 39

1. Lotus rhizome with flowers, buds, fruits and leaves, from the *hammiyā* railing of Stūpa IV, Sāñcī; second century B. C. Length 5 ft. 7 inches. A 69 in the Sāñcī Museum. *Catalogue*, p. 28 and pl. XI.
2. Detail from a "moonstone," Poḷonnāruva: two pairs of affronted *makara* heads with lotus sprays, and between them a *kīrttimukha*. About the twelfth century.
3. Lotus spray with fully developed acanthiform leaves, springing from a *makara*. Amarâvatī, about 200 A. D.

PLATE 40

Lotus; lotus palmettes and *jalebha*.

1, 2, 3. Nodes of the lotus rhizome at Bharhut, Sāñcī, and Amarâvatī. The two first are treated realistically, preserving the direction of growth; in the third, while the pedicule motif is retained, the leaf is duplicated for the sake of symmetry, without regard to the direction of growth.

4. Detail from a tympanum arch, Rānī Gumphā, Udayagiri, first century B. C.: lotus palmettes rising from lotus leaves, and flowers, forming a continuous spray springing from the jaws of a water-elephant (*jalebha*). *Cambridge History of India*, I, pl. XXVIII.

PLATE 41

1. Merman with double fish tail and elephant ears; the latter like those of some dwarf Yakṣas, cf. pl. 43, fig. 7. Sārnāth, railing pillar, first century B. C.: Sahni, *Catalogue* . . . . D(a)6, p. 209, and pl. VI. Cf. Smith, *Jaina stūpa of Mathurā*, pl. IX, similar figures but female.
2. Merman with double fish tail, each fork terminating in winged dragons. Mathurā, about 100 A. D.
3. Design of ever-flowing vases, built up from the common Sumerian symbol of the vase and two rivers. After Cros, G., *Nouveaux fouilles de Tello*, 1910, pl. VIII, fig. 2.
4. The Bodhisattva welcomed by Brahmā with a full vase, on emerging from the Nerañjanā. Borobudur, Java. For the whole, see Krom, *The life of Buddha on the stūpa of Bārābudur*, fig. 91. Cf. *Jātaka*, I, 93, where merchant's daughters welcome the Buddha in the same way, also pl. 19, fig. 2.

PLATE 42

1. Lotus rhizome with flowers and leaves framing animals, etc., rising from a full vase supported by a dwarf Yakṣa. Amarāvatī, about 200 A. D.
2. Drawing from pl. 9, fig. 2, pilaster with Yakṣī, supported by a water horse (*jalaturaga*); Jaggayyapeṭa, second century B. C.

PLATE 43

1. Water bull, from a railing pillar, Bharhut, 150-175 B. C. Note the small fins.
2. Water horse (*jalaturaga*), vehicle of Caṁdā Yakkhī, Bharhut (see pl. 10, fig. 1). About 150-175 B. C. Note the small fins.
3. *Ratnatraya* symbol, the two horns composed of *makaras*. Amarāvatī, about 200 A. D. Cf. Smith, *Jāina stūpa of Mathurā*, pl. L, 2.
4. Water elephant (*jalebha*), vehicle of a Yakkhī, see pl. 9, fig. 2, and pl. 42, fig. 2. The best example of a *jalebha* or *jala-dvipa* will be found in Smith, *Jāina stūpa of Mathurā*, pl. LXXIII, fig. 1.
5. Typical lotus palmette, composed of leaves, tendrils and flowers, rising from a leaf at a node, cf. pl. 40, fig. 4. Sāñci, east *toraṇa*.
6. *Makara* with open jaws, forming a *soma sūtra* of a Śiva temple; a warrior standing in (emerging from ?) the open jaws. Hoysala. Mysore A. S., 1913-14, pl. V.
7. Dwarf Yakṣa, with elephant ears and exaggerated penis, dragging at the upper jaw of a *makara*. Bodhgayā coping, about 100 B. C.

PLATE 44

1. *Abhiṣeka* of Śrī-Lakṣmī. Tympanum of a doorway, Ananta Gumphā, Udayagiri, Oṛissā. First century B. C.
2. Yakṣa with lotus sprays, seated on lotus; larger rhizome sprays with flowers, etc., and *haṁsas* perched on leaves, extending to right and left. Detail from the Dhamekh stūpa, Sārnāth, sixth century A. D.
3. Lotus pedestal of a standing figure, chamfer relief on a Bharhut railing pillar; showing the petals, stamens, and pericarp, corresponding to the petals, cable moulding, and abacus of a lotus (so-called "bell") capital.
4. Similar pedestal, but of a larger figure (unpublished); Bharhut. The composition is here of the lotus-palmette type, with a scale leaf, indicating a node, at the center of the lower margin, cf. pl. 43, fig. 5.

PLATE 45

1. Varuṇa, seated with his *makara*, as Guardian of the *soma*, which seems to be established on a rock (cf. "Varuṇa has placed Agni in the waters, the Sun in heaven, Soma on the rock," RV., V, 85, 2). From the compositions illustrating the Rape of the Soma, Cave IV, Bādāmi, sixth century; after Chanda, *Bas-reliefs of Badami*, Mem. A. S. I., 25, 1928, pl. XXIII. Another representation of Varuṇa with the *makara* will be found *ib.*, pl. XXI, c.
2. As pl. 2, fig. 3.
3. As pl. 16, fig. 2, but showing the *makara* in place; after Cunningham, *loc. cit.*

PLATE 46

The conch (*śaṅkha*):

1, 2. The *śankha* and *padma nidhis* of Kubera; details from pl. I, on the right: both are exuding coins.

3. A winged *śaṅkha*, similarly exuding coins or pearls; medallion of a railing cross bar, Mathurā. After Smith, *Jāina stūpa of Mathurā*, pl. LXXI, 7.
   In view of the rarity of the winged *śaṅkha* symbol, attention may be called to a winged *śaṅkha* standard at Borobuḍur (Krom en Erp, *Beschrijving . . . .*, Series II, pl. IX, No. 18).
4. *Śaṅkha* with lotus; detail of pl. 17, fig. 1.
5. Lotus rhizome, dissolving into arabesque, springing from a *śaṅkha*. From Mathurā, probably of Gupta date. After Smith, *Jāina stūpa of Mathurā*, pl. LXXXVIII, 1.
6. The same, with the nodes now hardly recognizable, from the Daśāvatāra Gupta temple at Deogaṛh.
7. Plaque with *śaṅkha*, and lotuses in angles; from Basāṛh, of Kuṣāna or Gupta date. A. S. I., A. R., 1903-04, p. 98, fig. 10.

PLATE 47

1. Birth of Brahmā, from a lotus springing from the navel of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu-Anantaśayana). Daśāvatāra, Elūrā, eighth century. See my *The Tree of Jesse and Indian sources of parallels*, Art Bulletin, Vol. XI, 1929, and above, p. 2.

"Makara" motifs in European art:

2. *Kīrttimukha* type, from a 10th century Psalter, British Museum, Harley MS. 2904; Millar, E. J., *English illuminated manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth century*, 1926, pl. XI.
3. *Makara* and lotus rhizome type, from the doorway of Aal church in Hallingdal, Norway, now in Christiania (Oslo) University. About 1200 A. D. From the cast in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

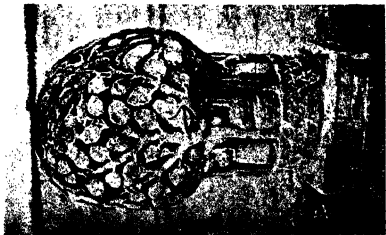
PLATE 48

1. Gaṅgā Devī approaching Śiva. Candimau, Bihār, fifth–sixth century A. D. [= A. S. I., A. R., 1911-12, pl. LXXIV, figs. 1 and 3]. See p. 69. A. S. I. photo.
2. *Makara* with lotus: Bharhut, ca. 175 B. C. Indian Museum, Calcutta: photograph by the same.
3. *Abhiṣeka* of Śrī-Lakṣmī: beside her a dwarf Yakṣa seated, supporting a bowl, and a pillar surmounted by a cock. From Lālā Bhagat, Cawnpore District: Śuṅga, second century B. C. Lucknow Museum: photo by the same. See Prayag Dayal, *A note on Lālā Bhagat pillar*, Journ. U. P. Hist. Soc., IV, 2, 1930, p. 38.

PLATE 49

Śrī-Lakṣmī, on and amongst lotuses rising from a "full-vessel." From Mathurā, now B89 in the Lucknow Museum. H. 3 ft. 10½ inches. Kuṣāna, ca. 2nd century A. D.

PLATE 50

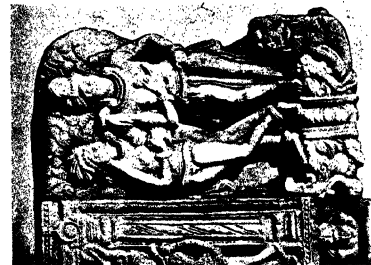
Details from the coping, Bodhgayā railing ca. 100 B. C. Sea monsters (*makaras*) and dwarf Yakṣas, etc.

Banyan Capital, Besnagar: evidently from the *dhvaja-stambha* of a temple of Dhanapati (Kubera).

1. Seated Yakṣa, pot-bellied, with curly hair.

2. Yakṣa under tree.

3. Yakṣī (perhaps Siri Devatā) with food and drink.

Yakṣas and Yakṣī from Mathurā, in Mathurā Museum.

Relief from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, showing Vajrapāṇi beside the Buddha; and two other Yakṣas.

1. *Mithuna:* Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

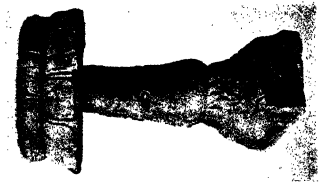
2. Kubera: Mathurā.

1. Hārītī and Pāñcika: Ajaṇṭā, Cave II.

2. Makara and lotus spray: Ceylon, 18th century.

1, 2. Kubera and Bhadrā: in Cāmuṇḍaraya Basti, Sravaṇa Belgoḷa.

3. Kubera and Bhadrā: from Maldah.

1. Yakṣī under mango, *śālabhañjikā* figure, north *toraṇa* at Sāñci.

2. Lotus altar, from Anurādhapura. Colombo Museum.

1. Trinity of Fortune: Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī, Kubera. University Museum, Philadelphia.

2. Yakṣa Atlantes, Nāsik, Cave III.

1

2

3

Yakṣas and Yakṣīs with fish-tailed animal vehicles, Jaggayyapeṭa.

1. Caṁdā Yakhi, Bharhut.

2. Yakṣī, Mathurā.

1

2

3

4

1, 2, 3. Lotus rhizomes proceeding from the mouth of an elephant (Airāvata); coping, Bharhut.
4. Viṣṇu reclining and Birth of Brahmā, Cambodian.

1. Architrave, south *toraṇa*, Sāñcī.

2. Detail of Fig. 1, Sāñcī.

3. Lotus rhizome and Yakṣas, Mathurā.

4. Detail, coping, Amarāvatī.

1

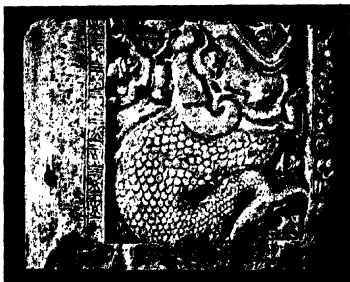
2

1. Detail of pillar, East gate, Sāñcī.
2. Detail of pillar, South gate, Sāñcī; for the original base see pl. 36 fig. 1.

1

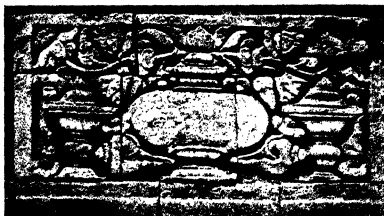
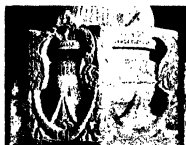
2

1. Jamb pillar of railing: Stūpa II, Sāñcī.
2. Stele, Poḷonnāruva, Ceylon.

1 2

1. Yakṣa dragging ornamented lotus rhizome towards a dwarf Yakṣa's mouth.
2. *Makara*, with ornamented lotus rhizome proceeding from mouth, and dominated by a dwarf Yakṣa. Coping details, Amarāvatī.

1. *Makara*, unknown source.

2. *Makara*, Besnagar.

3. *Makara*, Mathurā.

1. Panel, Caṇḍi Sewu, Java.

2. Detail of pillar, Indra Sabhā, Elūrā.

3. Detail of pillar, Cave XXIV, Ajaṇṭā.

4. Tracery window, Southern India.

1. From Pāli Kheṛā.

2. From Koṭā.

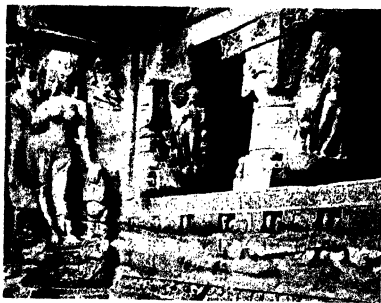
3. From Mathurā District.
Three pedestals supporting bowls.

1. Nāga and *nadī-devatās*. Amarāvatī.

2. *Nadī-devatās*, Amarāvatī.

3. Yamunā Devī, Pahārpur.

The Jumna and Ganges entering the ocean: Udayagiri, Gwalior.

1. Upper angles of doorway, Gupta temple, Deogaṛh.

2. Left end of verandah, Rāmeśvara shrine, Elūrā.

Yamunā Devī, Elūrā.

1. Dīpaṅkara J., detail.

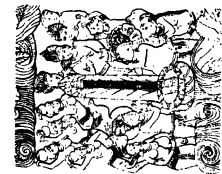
2. Goddess, Kulū.

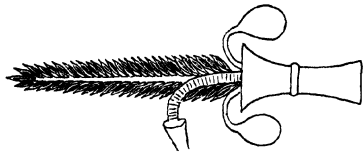
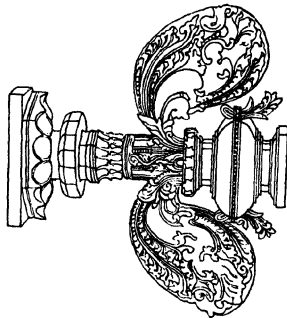
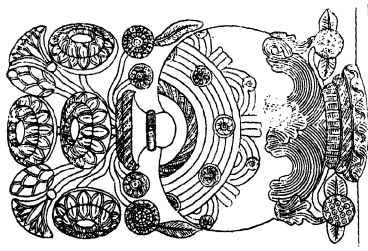
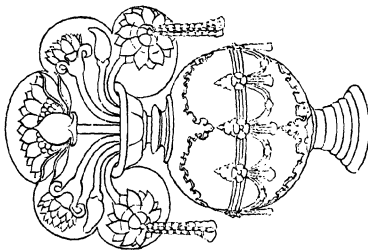
3, 4. Two goddesses of a spring, Java.

Abhiṣeka of Śri-Lakṣmi, Rāvaṇa kā Khāi, Elūrā.

1. Story of the Treasurer, etc., Bharhut.

2. Detail, Parinirvāṇa; Mathurā.

3. Story of the Treasurer, etc.; Bodhgayā. 4. Detail,
Sutasoma Jātaka, Ceylon. Half seen Yakṣas in trees.

1. The Bath in the Nerañjanā: Amarāvatī.

2. The Presentation before the Yakṣa Śākyavardhana: Amarāvatī.

1. Offering vase, Babylonian.

2. Full vessel supporting pilaster, Hazāra Rāmacandra temple, Hampi.

1. Full vase. Amarāvatī.

2. Full vase. Borobuḍur.

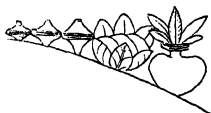
1. Amarāvatī.

2. Sāñcī.

3. Anurādhapura.

4. Sārnāth.

5. Sāñcī.

1. Bihār. 2. Sāñcī. 3. Amarāvatī.

1. Auspicious symbols, Mathurā.

2. Eight auspicious symbols, Mathurā.

3. Vine and vase, Mathurā.

4. Lotus and vase, Amarāvatī.

1. Deogaṛh.

2. Sārnāth.

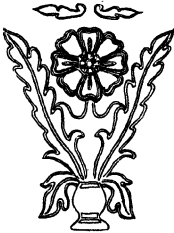
3. Amarāvatī.

4. Sāñcī.

5. Sāñcī.

Full vases *(puṇṇa-ghaṭa)*.

1. Mathurā.

2. From a Jāina MS.

3. Sinhalese embroidery.

4. Anurādhapura.

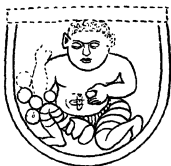
5. Fountain of Life: Amrāvatī.
Full vases (*puṇṇa-ghaṭa*).

1. Pillar base.

2. Railing medallion.
Lotus and Yakṣas, Bharhut.

1. Sāñcī, architrave (see pl. 12, fig. 1).

2. Amarāvatī coping.
Lotus and Yakṣa.

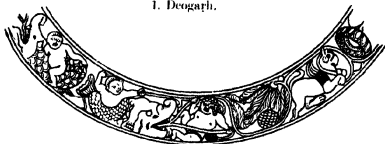
1. Sāñcī.

2. Bodhgayā.

3. Mathurā.

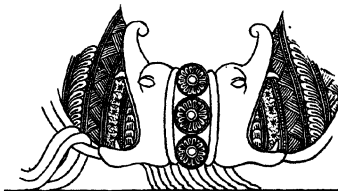
4. Amarāvatī.

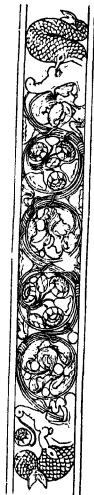
5. Bhājā.

Lotus rhizomes and Yakṣas.

1. Deogaṛh.

2. Amarāvatī.

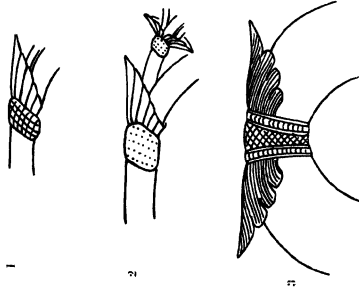
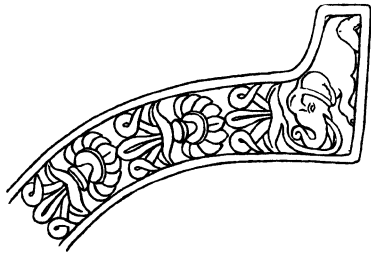
3. Amarāvatī.

4. Amarāvatī.

5. Amarāvatī.

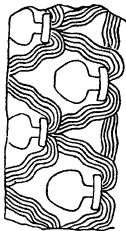
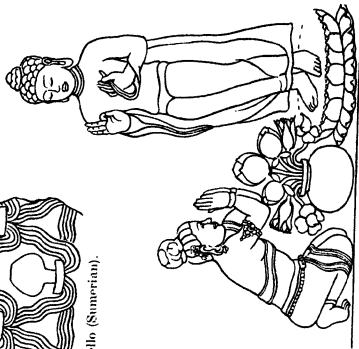
Lotus and *makara*, lotus and *jalebha*.

1, 2, 3. Lotus and *makara*. Amarāvatī.

1. Sāñcī.

2. Poḷonnāruva.

3. Amarāvatī.
Lotus; lotus and *makara*.

Development of the lotus rhizome node:
1. Bharhut. 2. Sāñcī. 3. Amarāvatī.

4. Lotus palmettes and *jalebha*. Udayagiri.

1. Sārnāth.

2. Mathurā.

3. Tello (Sumerian).

4. Brahmā welcoming Buddha. Borobuḍur.

1. Amarāvatī.

2. Jaggayyapeṭa.

1. Bharhut

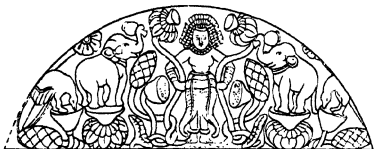
2. Bharhut.

3. Amarāvatī.

4. Jaggayyapeṭa.

5. Sāñcī.

6. Mysore.

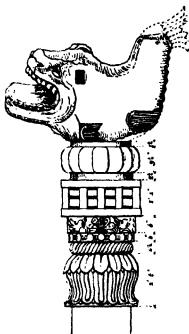
7. Bodhgayā.

1. *Abhiṣeka* of Śrī, Udayagiri.

2. From Dhamekh stūpa, Sārnāth.

3 4

3 and 4. Bharhut.

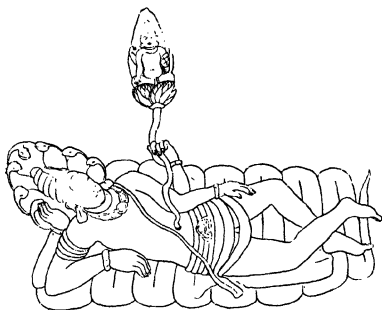
1. Varuṇa, Bādāmī.

2. Mathurā (=pl. 2, fig. 3).

3. Besnagar (=pl. 16, fig. 2).

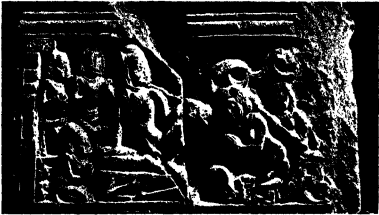
1 2 3. Mathurā.
1 and 2. Besnagar

4. Java

5. Mathurā. 6. Deogaṛh. 7. Basāṛh.

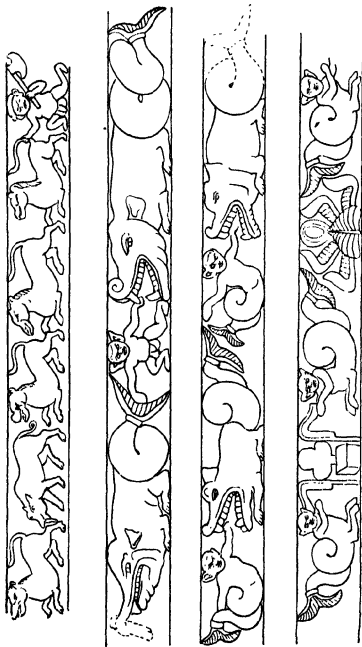
The conch (*śaṅkha*): and lotus.

1. Birth of Brahmā, Elūrā.

2. European, 10th century.

3. European, ca. 1200 A. D.

1. Gaṅgā Devī approaching Śiva: Candimau.

2. *Makara* with lotus: Bharhut.

3. Śrī-Lakṣmī: Lālā Bhagat.

Śri-Lakṣmī, Mathurā: Lucknow Museum.

Rail coping details, Bodhgayā.